URNALISM RBYIBW ARE U.S. **JOURNALISTS DANGEROUSLY** LIBERAL? A critique of the much quoted Rothman-Lichters studies

"TAKE AS LONG AS YOU LIKE, GO WHEREVER YOU MUST, SPEND AS MUCH AS YOU NEED TO GET AS CLOSE TO THE TRUTH AS YOU CAN."

In May 1981, after Mehmet Ali Agca shot Pope John Paul II, the media depicted the would-be assassin as a lone terrorist whose ties were to Turkey's neo-Nazis.

But reporter Claire Sterling, an expert on terrorism, believed otherwise. And when she presented her reasons to Reader's Digest, we told her to find out—no matter what it took.

The result was an exclusive article in September 1982 in which Sterling presented evidence that Agca was part of a conspiracy involving the Bulgarian secret police and the Soviet KGB.

Everything the world has learned since then confirms what Digest readers learned first.

Nor is this an isolated case of The Digest backing a writer's convictions.

Significant commitments...

Cornelius Ryan undertook his great World War II books, *The Longest Day* and *The Last Battle*, only after we assured him that our editorial offices around the world would provide funds and research help.

In November 1966, Alex Haley, then hardly famous but possessed by a dream, left an editorial lunch with our backing for his years of research that led to *Roots*.

And the list could go on and on.

This philosophy—of patiently investing resources, effort and expertise—imbues not just our magazine but also our Record Division, Condensed Books Division, General Books Division and QSP (our fund-raising division).

For example, while most do-it-yourself books are rehashes of ones that have gone before, we published our car-care manual only after renting a garage where our consultants, mechanics and editors tested our advice on cars for more than a year.

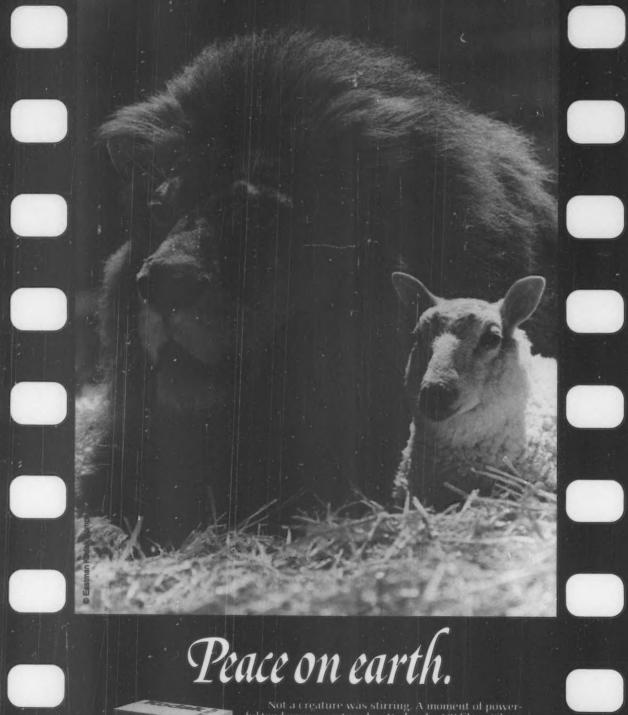
...produce significant results.

We go to these lengths to produce products of lasting value—products that make us profits, products illuminating enough and enriching enough to make a difference in more than 100 million lives around the world.

In one way or another, we tell all our people: "Get as close to the truth as you can."



We make a difference.



Not a creature was stirring. A moment of powerful tenderness, captured on Kodacolor VR films. Films so sharp they can pick our even a whisker of detail. So sensitive they can catch the strength and the sweetness of this peaceful season. Kodacolor VR films. Don't trust your Christmas magic to anything less.

Rodak film. Because time goes by:

CONTENTS

To assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define or redefine - standards of honest, responsible service . . . to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent

> Excerpt from the Review's founding editorial, Autumn 1961

ARTICLES

Are U.S. journalists dangerously libera A sociologist examines a major piece of evidence often used by those who want to bash the press	al? by Herbert J. Gans	29
Letter from China A freer press practices a bolder balancing act	by Laurence Zuckerman	34
Hot properties: the media-buying spree explained Who's bidding — and why all the action now?	by Karen Rothmyer	38
The 'cult beat' Notes on covering religious sects	by Leslie Brown	44
The silencing of a southern voice Atlanta Weekly, 1912-1986, R.I.P.	by Steve Oney	50
Local TV: good news about hard news Investigative journalism makes a comeback	by Nancy Madlin	54

DEPARTMENTS

Chronicle TV's fund-raising documentaries The vendor benders By-line bypass	8	The Press and the Presidency: From George Washington to Ronald Reagan by John Tebbel and Sarah Miles Watts reviewed by Piers Brendon	
Video stringers Digging up news in four languages New Zealand pol socks press		Robert Capa: Photographs Edited by Cornell Capa and Richard V Robert Capa: A Biography	Vhelan
Capital letter	20	by Richard Whelan reviewed by Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr.	
Comment Shutting up Schanberg	24	The News at Any Cost by Tom Goldstein reviewed by Loren Ghiglione	
Books	59	Briefings	70
PR: How the Public Relations Industry Writes the News by Jeff and Marie Blyskal reviewed by William Boot		Unfinished business	74
		The Lower case	81

Publisher Osborn Elliott

Publisher Osborn Eliott

Editor Spencer Klaw Senior Editor Jon Swan Managing Editor Gloria Cooper Art Director Christian von Rosenvinge

Associate Editor Laurence Zuckerman Contributing Editors William Boot, James Boylan, Michael Massing, Karen Rothmyer

Research Associate Margaret Kennedy Editorial Assistant Ruth Leviton

Interns Charles Huschle, Cyril Penn Board of Advisory Editors Harry Arout, Marvin Barrett,

Joan Bieder, W. Phillips Davison, Phyllis Garland, Kenneth Goldstein, Luther P. Jackson, Donald Johnston, Melvin Mencher,

John Schultz, Donald Shanor, Frederick T. C. Yu

Advertising Director John Gourlay Business Manager Susan C. France Assistant Business Manager Dennis F. Giza

Marketing Director Robert F. Sennott, Jr. Circulation Consultant S. O. Shapiro Publisher Emeritus Edward W. Barrett

Columbia Journalism Review (ISSN 0010- 194X) is published bimonthly under the auspices of the faculty, alumni, and friends of the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University. Volume XXIV, Number 4, November/December 1985. Copyright et 1985 Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, Subscription rates one year \$16 two years \$28 three years \$39. Canadian and foreign subscriptions, add \$3 per year. Back issues: \$4. Please address all subscription mail to: Columbia Journalism Review, Subscription Service Depti., 200 Alton Place, Marion, Ohio 43302. Editorial office: 700 Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027; (212) 280-5595. Business office: 700A Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027; (212) 280-2716. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and at additional mailing office. No claims for back copies honored after one year. National newstand distribution: Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 1130 (Geveland Road, Sandusky, Ohio 44870. Postmaster: send Form 3579 to Columbia Journalism Review, 200 Alton Place, Marion, Ohio 43302.

OFFICE AUTOMATION: HOW MUCH IS TOO MUCH?

Sometime last year American business crossed a technological Rubicon. For the first time in our history, capital investment per office worker exceeded that per factory hand.

Like it or not, information has finally surpassed material goods as

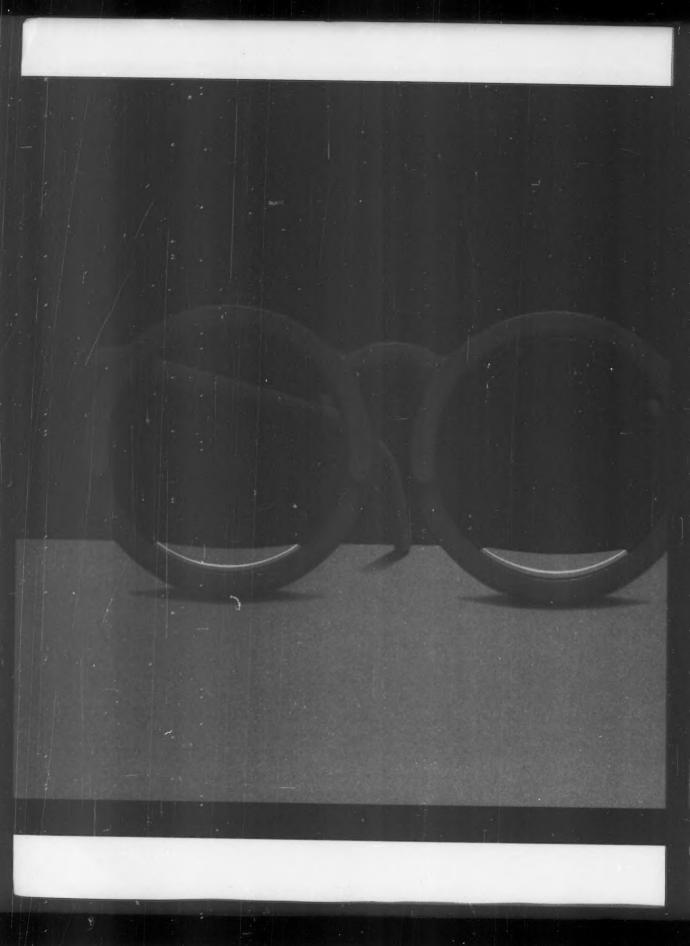
our basic resource.

Walter Wriston, ex-Citicorp chief, likens information to a new form of capital, one that is arguably "more critical to the future of the American economy than money capital."

Every day brings news of faster, smaller, more capable devices to serve the 70% of us who now work with this new form of capital.

But while the trend spotters on

- continued on next page -



Today's customer must strike a balance between making the most of what's on hand and fighting like crazy to keep next year's options open.

the integrated business system.

Today's customer must strike a balance between making the most of what's on hand and fighting like crazy to keep next year's options open.

MISSING LINKS. Between today's a la carte systems and the office-wide, integrated everything of tomorrow is ... what?

For many companies, the missing links are *networks*. By permitting different kinds of computers and other devices to share information, networks can pull today's stand-alone business machines into organized "islands" of automation.

Since these islands themselves can

be networked together, users can widen the scope of automation in an organization pretty much at will.

Some companies have the backbone of an *office-wide* network already in place. Today's digital telephone switching systems (PBXs) convert speech into the same "bits" and "bytes" that computers use.

This means that many an existing telephone network can double as a highway for business data — and that "office automation" need have no geographic limits.

A plug for the home team: Every vendor does some things better than the other guys. While communications and data networks are drawingboard doodles in some shops, they are bread and butter items at AT&T.

It may be AT&T's greatest strength that we can integrate new and existing systems whether we provide *all* of those systems, or *some* of those systems, or the bridges between them.

SUCCESS. Like the first Industrial Revolution, this one will lift some companies and confound others.

Those without a coherent plan to manage information in *all* its forms—the spoken word, thoughts on paper, images, and computer data—will be at a disadvantage.

In the long run, your success with office automation will have less to do with whose machines you buy — or how many — than with how freely information travels among them. It is the relationships you set up *between* the machines, not the devices themselves, that will tell the tale.

P.S. Much of this message was drawn from *The Integration Puzzle*, a two-day seminar offered by AT&T's Institute for Communications and Information Management. For further information or for a catalogue of AT&T Seminars in eight cities, please telephone 1 800 247-1212.

Or write Mr. Dale Hegstrom, AT&T Information Systems, P.O. Box 1405, Morristown, NI 07960-1405.



continued from preceding page

their mountaintops cheer this "Second Industrial Revolution," the view from the front lines is not so rosy.

Too often, new devices are an uneasy fit with their sister machines of just a year ago. Too often, systems intended to simplify office life have the opposite effect. Grouses one manager: "The more business machines we buy, the more we seem to need."

Change is rampant. The stakes are high. Confusion is king.

RASCALS. The best way to make sense of all this technology may be to ignore the whole business for a week or so and think about how your office works instead.

Who uses what kind of information? Where does it come from? What do they do with it?

No company on earth has pockets so deep that it can afford to automate every aspect of its business. Some hard choices lie ahead.

Item: In a typical office, 75% of the salary dollars go to managers and professionals. The system that spares these expensive rascals from a morning meeting or an hour of returning phone calls may be a better investment than one that does a whole day's work for someone else.

Item: The lion's share of time spent in any office is spent *communicating*:

listening, talking, chasing down stray facts, dealing with mail.

Were you to keep a log, you'd be appalled by how little time you have for actually producing "work." (Par for senior executives: about 15%.)

To leverage time, look for ways to *move* information more efficiently.

A desktop computer can perform in minutes the spreadsheet analyses that used to gobble hours. But how much is gained if the figures still walk from office to office in a mail cart?

Item: Streamlining the internal workings of your office may be less profitable than automating ties with customers or suppliers.

Japanese style "just in time" deliveries from suppliers are helping U.S. automakers slash inventory costs. Computerized flight information systems have given some airlines a strategic advantage with travel agents.

No company succeeds alone.

No company on earth has pockets so deep that it can afford to automate every aspect of its business. Some hard choices lie ahead. BALANCE. Complicating the question of where your systems dollar is best spent is where you spent it last time out. And the time before that. A lot of past choices are coming back to haunt today's manager.

Reason: most of the systems clicking away in offices today were purchased a la carte — when phones were phones, computers were computers, and "office automation" meant word processing and copiers.

Now the walls between these separate technologies are tumbling down.

Some office telephone systems can now process data. Computers have evolved that can communicate.

It's dawning on customers and vendors alike that the future belongs to

CHRONICLE

Right and left: TV's newest appeal

The film opens with a shot of impoverished Central American children weeping. "These children," intones the narrator, "are the innocent victims of a war they do not understand." A second film opens with actor Robert Foxworth, star of the prime-time television soap Falcon Crest, staring directly into the camera: "Terror and violence. Children caught in the crossfire. These are the images we have of Central America."

To viewers who are hooked by the dramatic openings, both shows have the look and feel of network documentaries, blending interviews with film footage and animated graphics. But what walks like a documentary and talks like a documentary isn't necessarily a documentary - especially when it is interrupted by a plea for donations. Both "Crisis in the Americas," which makes the case for an increased U.S. military role in Central America, and "Faces of War," which encourages opposition to the Reagan administration's policies there, are sophisticated political commercials in documentary garb, the latest examples of what has come to be known as "direct-response television."

Inspired by the success of such television evangelists as Jerry Falwell and Jimmy Swaggart, single-issue political groups have turned to television to raise money, expand mailing lists, and spread their own gospels. The best known and most prolific generator

of direct-response political shows is the American Security Council Foundation, producer of "Crisis in the Americas," "The SALT Syndrome," and others. Spokesmen for the foundation say that its first six directresponse programs have been televised more than 4,000 times. Not to be outdone, liberal groups such as People for the American Way, the Center for Defense Information, and the Foundation for the Arts of Peace have produced their own programs.

The basic recipe calls for equal parts of information and emotion. The information is usually imparted by retired and active military personnel (most of the shows produced in recent years have focused on U.S. defense and nuclear policy), Capitol Hill denizens, and academics, while the emotion is supplied by man-in-the-street interviews and by graphics and documentary film footage with narrative voiceovers. Often it is difficult to distinguish between the facts and their interpretation. The American Security Council Foundation's "Crisis in the Americas." for example, unambiguously states that "top Sandinista leaders operate a full-scale narcotics supply network leading directly to the United States" — a charge that has yet to be proved.

In turn, each organization portrays itself and its favored political stance as representing the sensible center. Advocates on the other side, be they big spenders in the Pentagon or commie symps in Congress, are depicted as antidemocratic and anti-American.

Like Robert Foxworth in "Faces of War." the shows' narrators are often celebrities: Charlton Heston endorsing a military buildup, Paul Newman decrying military spending, or Burt Lancaster blasting the Moral Majority. Direct-response programs have no commercials in the traditional sense; rather, the narrator typically asks viewers to write in for more information or call in pledges to a toll-free number flashed on the screen. In most cases the shows do not make a profit; most of the money raised is used to buy air time for the program in another city. The real prize, say many of the shows' producers, is the list of donors generated by the telecasts. "It's becoming increasingly difficult to prospect [find first-time donors] by mail," says Thomas Belford of Vanguard Communications in Washington, D.C. "Fund-raisers are now looking to television."

That has been especially true in recent years for those on the political left, who are latecomers to the direct-response game. Nick Allen, the executive producer of "Faces of War," says that "television attracts people who are not already on traditional progressive and liberal lists." Allen hopes to reach ten million viewers in 100 television markets with "Faces" over the next year.

Of course, there can be no lists if no one sees the show. Some station managers routinely and categorically refuse to sell air time for direct-response programs, fearing that complaints may force them to provide equal time to other groups. But many managers echo Ian Zellick, the community affairs director of KTVU-TV in Oakland, who says that "as long as a show isn't libelous or slanderous and doesn't advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government, we'll let it go as their opinion." Ultimately, backers of a well-produced show are able to buy a time slot in nearly every area they've targeted though not always on the station they want. "Strong stations don't need the money," explains Dick Hollands, the senior vice-president for television of the National Association of Broadcasters. The result is that many direct-response shows are shown in a poor time slot on a low-rated station.



Pay TV:
"Direct-response"
television brings
direct-mail
solicitation into
the video age.

RATHER THAN FRET ABOUT CLEANING UP HAZARDOUS MATERIALS IN THE FUTURE, MAKE MANUFACTURERS RESPONSIBLE NOW.

1

The Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel thinks it's time for manufacturers who include hazardous materials in their products to be accountable and responsible for their actions. If their product eventually becomes a hazardous waste, why should the public and the scrap industry, at the end of the line, be the victims? Manufacturers might think through the possible ramifications of using the materials they do in making new products if they were accountable for them from the outset.

Design engineers and manufacturing executives need to think ahead about their product — the materials used, how the materials can be recycled, what might hinder recyclability, simple changes in design or materials specifications that could make the difference between efficient recycling and hazardous waste disposal. Recyclability must be designed into every product before it leaves the drawing board if we're going to preserve our scarce resources and protect and enhance our environment.

ing board if we're going to preserve our scarce resources and protect and enhance our environment. The regulatory effort now seems to be concentrated on cleaning up hazardous wastes at the end proach to hazardous materials. Scrap processors think it's time to look at the problem from the other end, from the beginning. The best way to reduce the hazardous waste problem is to start at the very beginning. Think about recyclability at the front end, and don't expect the metallic scrap processor to do the impossible at the tail end.

The Institute has prepared a background paper on this subject. It points out that states concerned about cleaning up and prohibiting hazardous wastes should take a look at the front of the line where those materials are being created. It's time we get the attention of those who decide on materials that have such a tremendous impact on our lives.

For a copy of the Institute's paper or its perspective on hazardous materials and recycling, call Dr. Herschel Cutler, ISIS Executive Director, at (202) 466-4050.

Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel, Inc.



Still, direct-response producers are generally pleased with the effect of their shows. Retired Air Force Colonel Samuel Dickens, the director of Inter-American Affairs for the American Security Council Foundation, says, "Many lawmakers told me that without our earlier film on Central America ["Attack on the Americas," produced in 1981], we never would have been able to secure any military aid for El Salvador."

And Gil Friend, the executive producer of the antinuclear "In Our Defense," says television can work for the left as well. "The mass electronic media are the seat of this country's political culture," Friend notes. "We ignore it at our peril."

Bernard Ohanian

Bernard Ohanian is an associate editor of Mother Jones magazine.

The eyesore war

Woodstock, Vermont, is a town that prides itself on its historic character to such a degree that even the color of one's house is regulated by a town ordinance. So last winter when *The New York Times* placed five newspaper vending machines on public property in Woodstock without asking permission, the paper was promptly told to remove them. It refused.

Residents collected more than 1,000 signatures (one-third of the town's population) on a petition asking the *Times* to remove the boxes. But the paper insisted that it had the legal right to place its machines on public property. The people of Woodstock then resorted to guerrilla tactics. One night someone glued shut all five of the machines' coin slots.

Then the boxes themselves began to disappear. One was found in a snowbank. Another was dumped in a brook. And one turned up on an icepack in the middle of the nearby Ottauquechee River. "It's the single greatest issue I've seen people [here] get upset about," says Woodstock police chief Paul Chase.

They are not alone. In towns throughout the country the proliferation of newspaper vending machines has prompted angry complaints, lawsuits, and vandalism. Generally reviled as eyesores, the boxes have been particularly resented by local merchants who claim that newspaper sales in their stores have suffered. In Stockbridge, Massachusetts, for example, merchants are refusing to sell *The New York Times* because, they say, the company first refused to supply them with enough papers to meet demand, and then placed vending machines outside their stores.

Local governments also oppose the vending machines because, in many cases, newspaper publishers have ignored local ordinances and have placed boxes on public property without asking permission or paying a fee. The result in downtown Cleveland, a one-newspaper town since 1982, is one two-block stretch containing forty-four boxes, selling, among other publications, The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, the Akron Beacon Journal, and USA Today.

For their part, publishers insist that their machines are protected by the First Amendment and that regulation constitutes a prior restraint on newspaper distribution. "It's the stand of the *Times*, and other papers as well, that we have the Constitution behind us," says Elliott Sanger, Jr., manager of The New York Times Company's corporate relations department.

Using this argument, a number of pub-

lishers have gone to court to keep their boxes on the streets, and have won. Recently, Gannett prevailed against three Massachusetts towns that had impounded USA Today boxes. And a Minneapolis ordinance requiring a \$10 licensing fee and prior approval of vending-machine placement by the city council was declared unconstitutional when it was challenged by a group of publications including the St. Paul Pioneer Press, a Knight-Ridder paper.

Facing long, costly court battles, some towns have chosen to settle their differences with publishers by drawing up mutually acceptable standards. After a month-long battle in which several vandalized boxes were replaced, Woodstock settled with the *Times*: the paper agreed to remove four of its five boxes. But some residents remain bitter about what they perceive to be an out-of-town bully. "They threw their weight around in a small community," says police chief Chase, referring to the *Times*, "and people don't like it."

Lee McDavid

Lee McDavid is a free-lance writer who lives in New Hampshire.

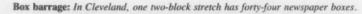
Hey, that's my story!

Does a reporter have the right to take a story with him when he switches newspapers?

The question arose late last summer after the San Jose Mercury News published a story disclosing that President Reagan had been an FBI informant during the 1940s. A tag line at the end of the page-one article stated that a former Mercury News reporter, Jack Sirica, "had contributed" to the story. But Sirica, now a reporter at Newsday, says that, in effect, his story was swiped.

In early 1984, Sirica, then with the Mercury News, became curious about Reagan's past connections with the FBI. After conferring with assistant managing editor Patrick Dillon, he filed a request under the Freedom of Information Act for the bureau's files on Reagan between 1938 and 1960. Last February, after the FBI had sent him some information, Sirica wrote a news story and waited for more files to arrive. The following April, Sirica left San Jose to join Newsday, instructing a newsroom secretary to be sure to forward his mail to him in New York. The FBI documents were delivered to the Mercury News in August, but they never reached Sirica.

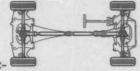
Instead, the *Mercury News* broke the story of Reagan's FBI connection on August 25. The next day, Sirica turned to page three of





The Audi 4000CS Quattro. Through rain. Through snow. Through almost any-

thing...Whether you're negotiating mountain roads or dry pavement, the car's driving charac-



teristics almost seem to redefine handling.

The reason: Audi's acclaimed permanent all-wheel drive system. By delivering engine power equally to all the wheels, all the time, traction is maximized.

Directional control and cornering are superb, while power is provided by an innovative 2.2 liter 5-cylinder engine.

All this in a sleek sculptured body. The Audi 4000CS Quattro sports sedan. It knows no season. (The 4000CS Quattro is priced at \$17,800. Title, taxes, transp., reg., and dealer delivery add'l.) The Quattro is protected by a 3-year 50,000-mile limited warranty, and a 6-year limited warranty against corrosion perforation. Call 1-

gainst corrosion perforation. Call 800-FOR-AUDI for details.

The art of engineering.

A car for all seasons.

Guess which one will grow up to be the engineer:



As things stand now, it doesn't take much of a guess. Because by and large, *he* is encouraged to excel in math and science. *She* isn't.

Whatever the reason for this discrepancy, the cost to society is enormous because it affects women's career choices and limits the contributions they might make.

Only 4% of all engineers are women.

Only 13.6% of all math and science Ph.D.'s are women.

And an encouraging, but still low, 31.3% of all professional computer programmers are women.



In the past ten years, IBM has supported more than 90 programs designed to strengthen women's skills in these and other areas. This support includes small grants for pre-college programs in engineering, major grants for science programs at leading women's colleges, and grants for doctoral fellowships in physics, computer science, mathematics, chemistry, engineering, and materials science.

We intend to continue supporting programs like these. Because we all have a lot to gain with men and women on equal footing.

Tea and Trumpets

Sit down for a soothing cup of tea and sip to the sound of some of the world's most beautiful music. Played by one of the world's great orchestras, the New York

Philharmonic. Exxon is proud to bring you these broadcasts each week, as we have for the last ten years. Check listings for the day and time in your area.

Exxon/New York Philharmonic Radio Broadcasts



© 1985 Exxon Corporation

TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE JOURNALISTS

Vannevar Bush Fellowships at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology 1986-87 Academic Year

Open to writers and broadcasters, staff and freelance, with at least 3 years' experience in reporting technology, medicine and science to the public.

Starting 1 September 1986, the fourth group of about 8 Bush Fellows will begin 9-month residential fellowships at MIT.

Stipend: \$18,000 plus \$2,000 relocation allowance, with fee in lieu of tuition paid by program.

Deadline for applications accompanied by samples of professional work (tapes and clippings) and essays about career and main goals for study: 1 March 1986.

Program includes twice-weekly seminar, auditing of courses, individual research.

Aims include increasing journalists' acquaintance with sources, technical background, and policy issues in such fields as basic science, advanced engineering, energy, environment, weaponry, biotechnology and computers.

Address for application forms: Vannevar Bush Fellowship Program, E40-373, MIT, Cambridge, MA 02139. Telephone: (617) 253-3442. Directed by Victor K. McElheny, technology reporter, N.Y. Times 1973-78.

MIT is an Equal Opportunity Affirmative Action Employer.

CHRONICLE

Newsday and saw a wire story headlined REAGAN WAS INFORMANT IN '40s. "I was quite angry," he recalls. "Obviously, they opened my mail."

Jim Bettinger, government/politics editor at the *Mercury News*, says that Sirica had no claim to the story. "The information came to [the paper] and I assigned the story," says Bettinger. "It was Jack Sirica as a *Mercury News* reporter, not as an individual," who requested the documents.

Sirica recognizes the News's proprietary interest in the story but thinks the paper acted badly. "They do have a right to the story — I used their phones and office — but I think they should have called and agreed to share it with me," he says. "It was my idea — no one had assigned the story originally."

In retrospect, managing editor Dillon agrees: "We owed Jack a courtesy call or the opportunity to catch up," he says.

Meanwhile, no one at the *Mercury News* can explain how it happened that Sirica's mail was opened instead of being forwarded. "I tried to find out who opened it," says Dillon, "but I can't explain it."

Charles Huschle

Charles Huschle is an intern at the Review.

Have camera, will travel

It was almost daylight in the little town of Salida, Colorado, when the police scanner in Michael Wiegand's living room crackled with a report of an accident involving a semitrailer on a highway bridge. Wiegand pulled on his jeans and shirt, collected his videocamera equipment, and rushed outside to his motorcycle. After navigating forty miles of winding canyon roads, he positioned himself to tape wide, medium, and close-up shots of the load of soybeans strewn across the road. The footage aired that night on KCNC-TV in Denver.

Wiegand, thirty-six, is by trade a jeweler, but he is also one of a growing number of home-video enthusiasts whom local TV stations have taken on as stringers. The practice is most common in western states such as Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Wyoming, where stations have extensive territory to cover—Wiegand, for instance, lives 125 miles from KCNC's studios.

"The whole idea is that they can be any place at any time," says Jim Swan of KCNC, which has built up a list of 300 stringers in two years. Swan says KCNC uses stringers' footage more than fifty times a year. In Kansas, meanwhile, the seventy-five stringers of the Wichita-based Kansas State Network



Video stringer Michael Wiegand

(KSN) have covered such spot-news stories as fires, a tornado, a plane crash at an air show, and a propane explosion, footage of which ended up on a national network broadcast.

Both KSN's "Newswatchers Network" and KCNC's "EyeWitness Network" recruit stringers with displays in video-equipment stores. Applicants are asked to describe their experience, their equipment, and the type of vehicles they own (four-wheel drive is an asset).

The stringers sign simple contracts that give the station exclusive rights to their work. KSN pays \$30 for a tape it airs, KCNC \$40, and both stations credit the cameraman on air. The stations sometimes call stringers with assignments, but in general the stringers are not authorized to say they represent the news organizations. KCNC and KSN also send out quarterly newsletters to their stringers containing video tips. "Sometimes you can even put the camera on the ground to get a nice steady shot," was recent advice from KCNC, for instance.

With such counseling, it has been a long time since Michael Wiegand committed what he calls the "capital sin": panning and zooming his camera at the same time. He now has three video cameras and a video-cassette editing machine, and in the last year and a half he has documented floods, winter storms, a bus accident on a mountain, an earthquake— "things just seem to fall into my lap," he explains.

In addition to his police scanner, Wiegand has acquired a fire-department beeper to make his nights more interesting. "I'm alert twenty-four hours a day," he says.

Virginia Sowers

Virginia Sowers is a former CJR intern.



To send a gift of Character call 1-800-238-4373. Imported by Seagram Chateau & Estate Wines Co., New York, N.Y.

"Talk that illuminates," the headlines."

-New York Times

Every Friday night on PBS, millions of viewers tune in to Public Television's longest-running public affairs program.



Ford Motor Company, in its sixth consecutive year, is proudly joined by Ford Aerospace & Communications
Corporation in underwriting this program. A program with an in-depth, behind-the-headlines look at what's happening in our world today and why.

"Washington Week In Review," produced by WETA/26 Washington, D.C. Consult your local listings for day and time in your community.



CHRONICLE

San Francisco's polyglot muckraker

When Chanthanom Ounkeo started the second draft of a profile last summer for San Francisco's monthly *Tenderloin Times*, she didn't just change some adjectives, she changed alphabets.

Ounkeo, a refugee from Laos, translated the edited English prose into her native language. Then, because the paper has no typewriters with Lao characters, she carefully wrote out her story in graceful calligraphy. Both versions of her piece — a profile of a fellow Laotian who went from welfare to ownership of a video rental store — appeared in the neighborhood newspaper's August issue. A month later, the businessman was profiled in a feature on foreign-language video by the daily San Francisco Examiner.

Ounkeo's work was not the most dramatic story in that month's Tenderloin Times that distinction went to a page-one piece that blamed high pedestrian death rates on city officials' failure to regulate high-speed traffic - but it was representative of the enterprising, nonprofit tabloid. The article dealt with an individual of modest means trying to establish himself in the tough Tenderloin, one of San Francisco's poorest and most diverse neighborhoods; it joined the sociological and the personal; and it inspired a story by one of the city's major news organizations. The fact that Ounkeo's article was published in two languages wasn't unusual either. Last June, in order to service the Tenderloin's growing number of Southeast Asian residents, the Times began publishing some stories in Lao, Vietnamese, and Cambodian.

In the eight years since it started as an irregularly issued mimeographed sheet, *The Tenderloin Times*, now a free newspaper with a circulation of 15,000, has gained a loyal following for its exposures of heatless hotels, illegal rent increases and evictions, the plight of the homeless and mentally ill, and the impact of real-estate development on the neighborhood. It has also attracted a wide readership among Bay Area journalists, many of whom cheerfully admit to cribbing the *Times*'s best stories.

"As a neighborhood paper, they're closest to the issues and a lot of us use it for leads," says Katy Butler, a San Francisco Chronicle reporter. Butler credits the Times for single-handedly bringing the plight of the city's homeless to journalists' attention. "That was not a news story in San Francisco until [the Times] wrote about it," she says.

In January of this year, the Times reported



Giveaway: A Laotian reporter for San

charges of mismanagement of four hotels bought and refurbished with federal and city funds. The paper's coverage included a photograph of a fire escape that dead-ended into an enclosed courtyard described by a former maintenance employee of the hotel as "a damn barbecue pit." The story rated followups in the *Examiner* and *Chronicle* and on KRON-TV, the local NBC affiliate.

The paper that produced these hard-hitting stories has a core staff of three: editor Rob Waters, who dropped out of college a decade ago to work in "community media"; managing editor Wade Hudson, a former apprentice minister; and Sara Colm, a longtime neighborhood organizer. From their mezzanine-level office in the landmark Golden Gate Theater, they and their support staff of bilingual reporters, photographers, and pasteup artists look out on the Tenderloin's porno palaces and bars. "We strive to be balanced in our coverage," Waters says, "but we don't claim to be objective. Clearly, the paper advocates on behalf of low-income people in the Tenderloin." Even so, the paper's reporting is meticulous, its advocacy rooted more in story selection than rhetoric or formal positions.

Although the *Times* is known among journalists for its muckraking, it is at heart a neighborhood paper. It publishes a community calendar, poetry, restaurant and movie reviews, advice columns for tenants and the elderly, and clear-eyed but affectionate profiles of neighborhood residents, bringing a touch of small-town journalism to the city. "People here tell us the first thing they turn to is our gossip column," says Waters.

Raul Ramirez, an Oakland *Tribune* reporter who led training sessions for the *Times*'s bilingual reporters, praises the paper for its efforts at cross-cultural communication in a neighborhood composed, in roughly



Francisco's Tenderloin Times hands out copies.

equal proportions, of Southeast Asian families, transient young men, and elderly pensioners living alone. "They are trying to teach one community about the other, and they're doing a very good job," he says. "Imagine trying to write about the gay community, say, for Southeast Asians."

Such efforts got a major boost last spring when a foundation grant enabled the *Times* to hire Chanthanom Ounkeo; Sophath Pak, a Cambodian; Nguyen Huu Liem, a Vietnamese; and Sara Colm. The *Times* now publishes two of its twenty pages in Vietnamese and one each in Cambodian and Lao script.

The process is not without its difficulties. "A story that is ten inches long in English may be twenty inches in Vietnamese and twenty-five in Khmer," says Colm, who oversees the multilingual coverage. The news and social notes in the multilingual pages are written in English, then edited and summarized by Colm and translated by the Asian reporters. Finally, other native speakers are brought to the office for proofreading.

Each month the paper's free copies are quickly snapped up from cafes, hotel and apartment-house lobbies, bars, social-service agencies — and from a shopping cart that staff members wheel up and down the streets. ("It's a good way to meet people and get ideas for stories," says Pak.) The cart both symbolizes the paper's grass-roots character and exemplifies its poverty. The *Times* is

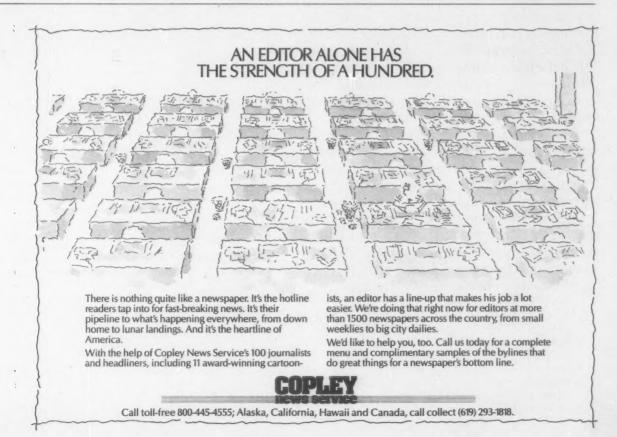
\$15,000 in debt and looking hard for computers to streamline its antiquated operation, but the staff seems undeterred. "Five years ago," says Colm, speaking of the paper's impact, "people saw the Tenderloin as a wasteland. Now, they see it as a neighborhood. People live here, and lots of them want to live here."

David Armstrong

David Armstrong is a copy editor at the San Francisco Examiner.

Punch-out in New Zealand

Given all the recent publicity about New Zealand's antinuclear stance, American observers might expect its politicians to be especially peace-loving. But on July 10 the banner headline in *The Dominion*, one of the country's major dailies, screamed: BOB JONES: "I LAID OUT FIVE OF THEM." The day before, Jones, the controversial founder and



Stanford University invites applications for

The John S. Knight Fellowships for Professional Journalists

The program's purpose is to improve the quality of American journalism by providing opportunities for outstanding mid-career professionals to broaden and deepen their understanding of the historical, social, economic, cultural and philosophical dimensions of major issues and trends shaping the nation and the world.

Up to 12 fellowships are awarded each year to full-time employees of newspapers, wire services, radio or television news departments, magazines in the area of news/commentary/public affairs, film and television documentarists, and photo-journalists. No more than two of these may be awarded to employees in business/management positions who are interested in broadening their educational background, as opposed to developing further a particular skill, and who are likely to move into positions where their decisions will affect the editorial quality of the mass media (e.g., publishers, general managers, station managers).

The program seeks applicants who have demonstrated uncommon excellence in their work and who have the potential of reaching the top ranks in their specialization. Nominations are encouraged from employers as well as applications from individuals.

All candidates must have at least seven years full-time news experience and must be U.S. citizens employed by U.S. news organizations. Stipend is \$20,000 for nine months plus tuition and a book allowance. Deadline for applications is February 1 of each year.

For complete information and application forms, write:

Director John S. Knight Fellowship Program Department of Communication, Bldg. 120 Stanford University Stanford, California 94305-2069 (415) 497-4937 leader of the New Zealand Party, had punched out four journalists (not five, as he had mistakenly claimed). His only regret, Jones said after a television news crew had pursued him down a river near his lakeside retreat on New Zealand's North Island, was that he had been unable to "punch the helicopter pilot as well."

A forty-six-year-old property-magnateturned-politician who was once New Zealand's inter-university lightweight boxing champion, Jones now faces charges of assault. For his part, he has filed civil suits against the reporters' employers, *The Auckland Star* and Television New Zealand, after claiming that he was subjected to "intolerable harassment." "I felt like a hunted animal," Jones declared after the fracas.

The episode began innocently enough when Jones let it be known that his party, which had polled well in its first parliamentary election last year but failed to win a seat, would close down its operations for eighteen months. Then, without explanation, Jones announced he was going fishing. The next morning, Auckland Star reporter Colin James and photographer Murray Job approached him outside his home as he was getting ready for his trip. Jones didn't want to talk and, in a few confused moments, he punched both men. Then, driving off in his Jaguar, he clipped Job on the leg.

Later, a Television New Zealand news crew headed by reporter Rod Vaughan hired a helicopter and spotted Jones on an isolated spot in the forest-flanked Tongariro River. As the helicopter landed, Jones left the water and disappeared into the forest. The crew followed on foot and, as TV viewers saw that evening, Jones, shrouded in a hooded jacket, appeared from behind a tree and attacked the newsmen, leaving them bruised and bloodied. "It was the most bizarre episode of my life," Vaughan says. "He came out of the bush shouting expletives as he went about his business . . . then he pursued us back to the chopper - he tried to wreck the camera." While Television New Zealand and Star executives have lined up squarely behind their staff members, the incidents have sparked a lively debate about Jones's right to privacy. Dr. Bill Hodge, president of the Auckland Council for Civil Liberties, advised the journalists to swallow their pride and drop their complaints. If the journalists were told to leave Jones alone, he says, "it was morally and professionally wrong to pursue him." Even some journalists have criticized Vaughan for being too zealous.

Vaughan defends his decision to track down Jones. "Here we had the leader of the third most popular party in the country mak-



Ambush interview: When TV reporter Rod Vaughan (below) tracked down New Zealand party leader Bob Jones on a fishing trip, Jones (above) jumped out from behind a tree and bashed him.



ing the sudden, dramatic, and arbitrary decision to put the party into recess," he says. "If we hadn't attempted to talk to Jones we would have been failing in our responsibility." Even so, Vaughan says that the overwhelming majority of New Zealanders support Jones. "Maybe ten percent of the public was behind the actions of the news organizations," he says.

Political reporters in New Zealand are sensitive to criticism - much of which comes from fellow journalists - that they are soft on the country's major political figures. George Kennedy, a University of Missouri journalism professor who is in New Zealand on a Fulbright fellowship, sees some merit in a reporter having respect for privacy, but was astounded at the way some news organizations handled the Jones story. "Nowhere did the first story I saw say that Jones hit anybody," Kennedy says. "It was as if some mysterious force came down and 'struck' the reporter. Either [the Star] doesn't trust its reporters, or you've got editors playing lawyers."

Referring obliquely to the reluctance of some papers to take on public figures, one reporter summed up the feelings of many journalists about the Jones affair: "The thing that makes me ashamed is that not one of them landed even a single punch back for

Graeme Thomson

Graeme Thomson is a business reporter in New Zealand.

"I MUST GET OUT OF THESE WET CLOTHES AND INTO A DRY MARTINI."

So exclaimed Alexander Woollcott one rainy day to his cronies at the famous old Algonquin Round Table.

Woollcott was not alone among the literary lions in

his regard for America's favorite cocktail. Somerset Maugham and Alec Waugh were both avowed martini men.

But none, including Woollcott, was really inclined to save his martini for a rainy day.

After all, New York has been known to go weeks without rain.



Imported
BEEFEATER® GIN
The Crown Jewel of England."

ANNOUNCING

The First English Language PRAVDA

- The Soviet Union's Official Daily in FULL TEXT AND ORIGINAL FORMAT

An immense scholarly contribution . . .

"Will fill a true need among all students of life in Russia today and among those who seek to understand the formulation of attitudes of the Russian people toward the United States."

- U.S. SENATOR RUDY BOSCHWITZ



CALL TODAY! 612-646-2548

Subscription: \$630 per year (less than \$1.75 per day), all 365 issues. Visa and MasterCard accepted. Or write to



Associated Publishers, Inc. 2408 Territorial Road St. Paul, Minnesota 55114

CAPITAL LETTER

by WILLIAM BOOT

Operation spy dust

The television klieg lights came on, press notebooks rustled, and spokesman Charles Redman strode into the State Department briefing room. He took the podium, adjusted his notes, and proceeded to dish out a story guaranteed to make any journalist salivate — a tale involving spies, a bizarre surveillance operation, and a dangerous chemical.

The United States, Redman said at the August 21 briefing, had discovered that KGB agents in Moscow were using a potentially cancer-causing powder to trace contacts between Americans in Moscow (diplomats and presumably journalists) and Soviet dissidents. The chemical leaves an invisible fingerprint on those who come into contact with it (as in a handshake) and KGB chemists could detect the most minute quantities on hapless dissidents.

"We have protested the practice in the strongest terms and demanded that it be terminated immediately," Redman said, and then opened the floor to a torrent of questions.

No quiet diplomacy here. Moscow had evidently been caught red-handed, and Washington had decided to give it a bashing, using the press as a club.

The press was at first very obliging. The wire services flashed urgent stories. U.S. television networks and most newspapers followed up by giving great fanfare to the charges: SOVIETS SAID TO IMPERIL DIPLOMATS (Washington Post), U.S. STANDS UP TO KREMLIN (Chicago Sun-Times), DIPLOMATS "TRACKED" BY CHEMICALS (Atlanta Constitution). The powder was tagged as "perilous" by the Baltimore Sun and "lethal" by the New York Post; The Boston Herald deemed its use "chemical warfare."

But within forty-eight hours — in one of the quickest press reversals in recent memory — many news organizations had jettisoned their sternness and adopted a wry, joking approach to the issue.

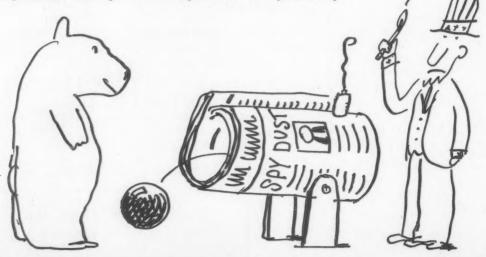
A news story that had begun with a bang ended, if not with a whimper, at least with a wink and a nod. Why?

For starters, there was the matter of labeling. The villain of the piece was a chemical called nitrophenylpentadienal— a rather unwieldy name compared with, say, Jack the Ripper. Clearly, a less soporific label was required to keep

the eyes of Texas off the comics. First efforts at a substitute — e.g., "potentially cancer-causing chemicals" (Chicago Tribune), "a mysterious powdery substance [with] a possible health risk" (New York Times) — managed to strike an ominous chord but were altogether too convoluted.

NBC was an exception. The network hit on a catchy two-syllable tag — spy dust — and the new phrase was uttered not once, not twice, but three times on the August 21 Nightly News.

In short order, the rest of the press pack had collectively expropriated the label — which must have caused relief (to say nothing of ideological satisfaction) in Moscow. Mikhail Gorbachev was engaged in image-polishing prior to a November summit encounter with Ronald Reagan, and spy dust was not so very bad from the image standpoint. It did not suggest cancer, but instead had a whimsical quality. It evoked "star dust" (a phrase that *The Washington Post* soon used in describing the episode)



B/Stuart Goldenberg

Memo to editors

Subject: Oil industry taxes

Next time one of your reporters files a story about taxes and the oil industry, we hope you'll approach it as you would any other news item—making sure its contents are factual, accurate, and complete.

We make this plea because so many "facts" we've been seeing in print and on TV lately aren't facts at all. They're really inaccuracies which have been repeated so often as to become part of the "common wisdom"—things "everybody" knows which simply aren't so. Like the "facts" that frogs cause warts, and night air is bad for you.

Here, then, are some of the questions we hope you'll ask your reporters:

■ Are the "tax breaks" the oil companies are supposed to enjoy really tailored just for that single industry, or does business generally get similar treatment?

If all industries enjoy similar treatment, why hasn't that fact been mentioned prominently?

■ Is it good journalism to treat the phrase "intangible drilling costs," for example, as if it described some loathsome disease, while failing to point out that the treatment of research and development and advertising expenditures in the same manner is quite honorable under the tax code? And that most businesses take such deductions, and

properly so?

- Just what are "intangible drilling costs," anyhow?
 - Are oil companies really undertaxed?
- Just how much do they pay in taxes to the federal government?
- How does their tax rate compare to other companies in other industries?
 - What's the "windfall profit" tax?
- Are the oil companies making a windfall?
 - How much money do they make?
- How do their earnings compare with industry generally?
- How does the rate of return on shareholders' equity compare? The return on capital employed? The return on assets?

We hope our suggested questions, and others you may add to the list, will prove useful in your goal to inform the public. Certainly there's no doubt that a fully informed public is in a much better position to make and accept policy decisions than a public that's been badly informed or kept in the dark.

(If you would like answers to the questions we've raised, write Box Q, Mobil, 150 East 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017. They may give you a fresh slant on our business.)

Mobil'

Answers. Contacts. Background.

Have a question about Phillips Petroleum? Or the energy industry? These public relations specialists can get answers for you:

Bill Adams (918) 661-5224
Dan Harrison (918) 661-5204
Jere Smith (918) 661-4982
Susan Stoffle (918) 661-4974
Steve Milburn (918) 661-4987
Bill Flesher (918) 661-6760

Call or write: Public Relations Department, 16A-2 Phillips Building, Bartlesville, Oklahoma 74004.

The Performance Company 66



Journalists
in Residence
at
The University
of Michigan

Fellowships for the 1986-87 academic year: Stipends of \$2,000 a month plus tuition in a non-degree, non-credit program anchored in, but not confined to, the humanities and liberal arts. Applications due March 1, 1986. For brochure and forms, contact:

Graham Hovey, Director Journalists in Residence The University of Michigan 2072 Frieze Building Ann Arbor, MI 48109 Phone: (313) 763-2400 or fairy dust — hence *Time*'s cover cartoon of Tinkerbell scattering spy dust. And it invited headlines making light of the affair: SPY DUST ON SUMMIT ROAD (New York Times), DUSTY-EVSKY DRAMA (Miami Herald), INTRUDER IN DUST: U.S. SEES RED OVER A SPY DYE (New York Daily News).

Headlines liberally sprinkled with quotation marks — e.g., "SPY DUST" REPORT LINKED TO SUMMIT (St. Louis Post-Dispatch) — suggested the entire story might be dubious. SPY "DUST" (Chicago Tribune) seemed to question the nature of the substance, "SPY" DUST (Boston Globe) cast doubt on its purpose. USA Today's one-word SPYDUST made it sound almost like a new consumer product.

The Boston Herald fought against the herd to preserve a note of alarm with KILLER SPY DUST, a variant on "killer bees." It was a brave try, but Tinkerbell carried the day.

Of course, the choice of press labels is not altogether arbitrary. Journalists would not refer to nerve gas as "combat cologne," or to the Sudan famine as a "Dervish diet," because they take those matters seriously. In the case of the Kremlin chemicals, "spy dust" bespoke considerable press skepticism about the U.S. government's broadside.

Above all, there were the political implications of its timing. It came in the midst of pre-summit propaganda maneuvering and one day after a controversial U.S. announcement that the Pentagon would continue testing antisatellite weapons, a move Moscow had quickly denounced as militaristic.

Redman admitted in his briefing that the dusting had been going on for years, that its cancer-causing potential had been established in 1984, and that an upsurge in Kremlin use of the powder had been detected last spring.

"Why now?" asked the Baltimore Evening Sun in an editorial on motives behind the State Department announcement. The department's answer was that official Washington had been, in effect, at the mercy of the press. Reporters would surely have uncovered the story anyway, possibly getting aspects of it wrong, once Americans in Moscow had been warned by the U.S. Embassy. But,

as some reporters pointed out, this answer begged the question of timing.

If the government was so concerned about the plight of dissidents, who could be sent to the Gulag for illicit contacts with journalists, why hadn't it warned the western press corps about the chemical before August 21?

And if it was so concerned about the health of its diplomats, why hadn't it warned them about the risks last year, or, at the latest, last spring?

Reporters also had doubts about U.S. sincerity on the health issue. The cancercausing potential of the powder was discovered by subjecting a dust sample to a procedure called the Ames test, after Berkeley biochemist Bruce Ames. But, as more than one newspaper noted, the Environmental Protection Administration, during Reagan's first term, had opposed using the Ames test on potentially hazardous chemicals as part of the administration's crusade to stamp out "over-regulation" of business.

There was also the question of risk, given the small doses of powder to which Americans had presumably been exposed. When reporters got to Bruce Ames on August 22 and asked him about the dangers of spy dust, he declared: "There's more proven reason to worry about coffee, mushrooms, and sunshine — and that's not to say I'm worried about coffee, mushrooms, and sunshine."

If the cancer risk was a red herring, then where was the story? After all, the Russians spy on us, we spy on them. What else is new?

As The Miami Herald put it in an August 23 lead editorial: "First came the bug in the Great Seal of the United States. Then the clandestine microwave caper. Now — zounds! — the nefarious Red spy dust: more insidious than a discotheque admission stamp, deadlier — well, almost deadlier — than a cup of strong American coffee. Does Soviet treachery know no bounds?"

Comments such as this had pretty well put an end to serious accounts of the affair by August 24. The New York Daily News dismissed the episode as a "silly season story."

Significantly, many of the doubts which the press eventually marshalled to

poke holes in the story had first been raised in questions during the initial State Department briefing. This skepticism did not prevent the administration from getting its message out. Redman, the spokesman, holding his ground, brushed the skepticism aside and the reporters rushed to their phones. Speed is of the essence on the wires and airwaves. Only later — after the government line had been disseminated — was there time to reflect, make calls, quote the doubting Ameses.

he moral is that even a questioning, adversarial press is highly vulnerable to being used — forced into a reactive stance a bit like a tennis player returning an overhead smash. In this case, of course, the reactive player rallied, positioned himself, fired off his own smash against the State Department, and won the point. Or did he?

International p.r. is actually a much subtler game than tennis. In the case at hand, it may be that the press was twice used — that the State Department was actually counting on journalists' skepticism to curb the brunt of its own accusations. Washington was able to use the media to get off an anti-Soviet slap, countering Kremlin propaganda and lowering public expectations for the summit. Then the media's skepticism helped prevent a public outcry so loud as to jeopardize summit prospects such as they were.

This theory is less Byzantine than it may sound. Redman, after all, is not exactly the department's biggest gun. The decision to use him to air the charges rather than someone higher (even if only his boss, Bernard Kalb) sent a message in itself and made it easier for the press to take some of the sting out of his message. And Redman did not hesitate to provide information (dusting upsurge last spring, Ames test last year) that could be used to help lessen the sting.

Taking a different tack, *The Washington Post's* Mary McGrory theorized in her column that the spy-dust allegations were a U.S. bid to wreck the summit. But, in fact, the State Department had been seeking room for accommodation in Geneva (in contrast to a pow-

erful Pentagon faction that wanted to keep "Star Wars" and other bargaining chips locked safely in the toy box).

Another theory is that the U.S. spydust revelation was, in effect, a health warning aimed at deflecting possible future lawsuits by retired diplomats who have served in Moscow and who may get cancer two or three decades hence. But if this was the motive, why didn't Washington unveil the dusting as soon as the possible risks were known?

What the McGrory and lawsuit theories have in common with my own is their view of the news media as a tool of officialdom. Indeed, if the tennis analogy holds up, we should perhaps think of the press not as a player but as a well-used racket.

Most reporters probably do not enjoy being recruited cavalierly in the great game between the superpowers, which could explain the intense, sarcastic debunking of the spy-dust story in many press quarters. In fact, some journalists presumably felt not only used but cheated. There is usually great mileage to be had in spy stories, because of their truth-as-strange-as-fiction quality. But not here.

"The spy dust case," the Los Angeles Times pointed out, "has enough in common with popular fiction to stimulate the imagination." The problem was that the story did not have enough in common with spy fiction to gratify the imagination — of either reporters or audiences. Where were the plot, the characters, the dead bodies, the high-speed chases, the victims bundled into black sedans? Where were Karla, Goldfinger, Dr. No? All we got were some faceless, bumbling Russians and a handful of dust.

The problem of no drama was especially acute for television reporters, who had absolutely nothing to depict other than Redman's talking head. So, with cameras rolling, more than one network correspondent resorted to speaking his lines in a parked automobile while pointing to the steering wheel — a steering wheel not unlike those which had been dusted in Moscow! Now, really. If viewers had to be reminded what a steering wheel was, how could they have been expected to retain anything about nitrophenylpentadienal?



COMMENT

Shutting up Schanberg

In its editions of August 20, 1985, at the bottom of a local news page in the second section, *The New York Times* offered a small headline: SCHANBERG OP-ED COLUMN IN TIMES TO BE DISCONTINUED. The two-paragraph story said that Sydney Schanberg, who had written the "New York" column for four years, had been "asked to accept another assignment, which is now under discussion." It said further that the "announcement" had been made by the publisher's deputy in the absence of the publisher, Arthur O. Sulzberger.

In this abrupt manner, the career of a staff member who had worked for the paper for twenty-six years, who had won it a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting from Cambodia, who had served as its metropolitan editor and finally as a columnist, had been brought to a halt. Thereafter, in the pages of the *Times*, he became virtually a nonperson. Not only was he given no opportunity to write a final column, but none of his erstwhile colleagues on the op-ed page or the editorial page uttered a word in print about his departure. Nor was there any further news story, although stories appeared in other newspapers. Nor, finally, did the *Times* take note when Schanberg, in September, declined reassignment and resigned.

The newspaper frequently pokes into the internal affairs of other companies. In recent weeks, for example, it speculated on the meaning of a battery of new appointments at New York's giant Citicorp banking organization. It mulled at length over job eliminations and early retirements at CBS News. It took note, a little cattily, of office politics at Arbor House, a New York publisher.

If its own measures of news and public interest had been applied, the Schanberg matter would have been covered in the Times. At the least, Times reporters would have been permitted to try to find out from management what it was about Schanberg's column that had proven intolerable to the publisher — for it was the publisher alone, as a Times spokesman conceded in another newspaper's account, who made the decision to silence Schanberg. Was it the sniping, in Schanberg's last published column, at boutique news in the Times? Or his dogged opposition to the Westway redevelopment project in Manhattan, and thus to the Times's editorial position? Or his frequent suggestions that some of the city's real-estate magnates engaged in criminal or corrupt activities? Or his persistent emphasis on the ills and the impoverished classes of New York City in a newspaper given to ponderous boosterism?

In the newspaper business the rote response to a publisher's fits of totalitarianism is that the publisher — at least

such a publisher as this one, representing the controlling family interest — may do anything legal that he pleases, including censoring his newspaper. Indeed, this particular publisher set a precedent for the Schanberg case in 1976 by denying a cousin — John B. Oakes, then editor of the editorial page — space to dissent from a political endorsement the publisher favored.

But saying that a publisher has the power to act in this manner and that he *should* do so are two different things, particularly when his actions appear to set a pattern for the entire organization. The circumstances of Schanberg's silencing lend renewed weight to an analysis of the *Times* published in 1974 by a Harvard industrial psychologist, Chris Argyris. The newspaper itself had invited Argyris to view its managerial operations, and Argyris subsequently published a thinly disguised report of what he saw and heard. The *Times*, Argyris concluded, was an institution that operated in a manner that it condemned in other institutions, most strikingly in its lack of openness and the heavy penalties it imposed on dissent.

he *Times*, both a financial success and by consensus the summit of American journalism, may well argue that its system clearly works. But against such claims stands a long list of journalists lost to the *Times* in midcareer — David Broder, Earl Caldwell, Eileen Shanahan, Seymour Hersh come immediately to mind — and now Schanberg. Equally important, the Schanberg incident is further evidence that the *Times* still lacks the confidence — or, perhaps, the will — to treat itself with the same candor with which it examines other institutions. The system may, indeed, work, but the damage it does to a paper that prides itself on providing news "without fear or favor" is increasingly apparent.

Darts and laurels

Laurel: to the Charleston, West Virginia, Gazette, and publisher W. E. Chilton III, for practicing what too many other news organizations only preach. Following the publication of a Chilton-inspired editorial in which it was suggested that an indictment was not warranted in the case of a state supreme court justice then under grand jury investigation for the misuse of public funds (a suggestion with which, it turned out later that day, the grand jury agreed), the paper carried two opinion pieces by Gazette employees taking Chilton to task for his stand. One, by editor Don Marsh, set forth the legal logic that would have supported a decision

to indict; the other, by staff writer Eve Epstein, set out the ethical case against Chilton for compromising the paper's credibility by going easy on a public official who happens to be his friend. Both journalists, as CJR goes to press, are still happily employed by Chilton's *Gazette*.

Dart: to the Chicago Tribune, for a curious omission in its front-page story of August 29 headlined 40 MAJOR FIRMS PAID NO INCOME TAX IN '84. Based on a study issued by the Citizens for Tax Justice titled "Corporate Taxpayers and Corporate Freeloaders," the article was accompanied by a chart which purported to compare the profits and tax rates of "the 28 largest companies" in Illinois but which, on close inspection, actually revealed the names of only twentyseven such firms. As noted by radio commentator John Madigan on Chicago's WBBM, the missing company was Commonwealth Edison, whose chairman, like his predecessor, sits on the Tribune Company's board. (Had that particular company's name not been - as managing editor Richard Ciccone put it — "inadvertently" dropped, readers would have learned that, on 1981-84 profits of \$3.6 billion, the utility had paid a federal tax of a mere .2 percent.)

Laurel: to *The Kansas City Times* and crime reporter Ted Cilwick, for "Back on the Street," an arresting four-part series (June 5-8) on a statewide pattern of repeated offenses in the administration of Missouri's parole system. Triggered by an alarming rate of revoked paroles — now up to nearly one in two — and by the growing number of crimes committed by rapists, armed robbers, murderers, and "lifers" who had been carelessly released, the *Times*'s series was followed by the announcement in September of sweeping changes in the system and further official inquiries into the questionable practices fingered in Cilwick's report.

Dart: to The Associated Press and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, for a September 10 picture item on the Miss America beauty pageant that exploited and demeaned women in a perverse and tasteless way. Headlined NOW, IN SWIMSUITS and captioned "An Atlantic City policeman shooing away some non-competitors to make way for official Miss America contestants," the stand-alone AP photo featured four startled, barefoot women caught in a stroll along the shore, some wearing slacks, some clad in bathing suits, and all of them more than pleasingly plump.

Dart: to Bill Williams, anchorman for WBIR-TV in Knoxville, Tennessee, for generating some \$5,000 in "talent fees" for himself by helping to produce, narrate, and direct a number of documentaries for the Tennessee Valley Authority, on which he sometimes reports. According to The Knoxville Journal, parts of the most recent TVA documentary on which Williams worked were subsequently used in a series of programs aired on WBIR which, while acknowledging the cooperation of the federal utility, failed to mention the payments its anchorman had received.

Dart: to the San Antonio *Express-News* for failing to apply the editorial brakes in news accounts of an upcoming automobile show that the paper was cosponsoring with local radio station WOAI. Added on to the standard what-when-where were several unmuffled plugs for, among other ve-

hicles, the Buick Regal, which, the *Express-News* went out of its way to tell its readers twice, is one of the "hottest selling cars that can be owned for as little as \$205.67 per month."

Dart: to the Lebanon, Missouri, Daily Record, for shamelessly selling its news soul along with the body of its ads. A recent brochure told potential advertisers of special events that, in addition to a week-long package of full-page, quarter-page, and double-truck ads in color and black and white, their \$1,950 would buy, among other editorial goodies, a feature on the Record's business page and a daily front-page brief.

Laurel: to the Chicago Tribune and reporters Nicholas M. Horrock, Douglas Frantz, and Laurie Cohen, for "The \$10-Billion Float," a high-interest series (September 8-10) on the E. F. Hutton overdrafting scheme. Of particular note are Horrock's front-page revelations of September 9 (WHEN HUTTON TALKED, DID JUSTICE LISTEN?), in which he details the suggestive sequence of events that culminated in the Justice Department decision not to prosecute any of the individual wrongdoers in the company - events that included a "social lunch" meeting in November 1984 (when indictments by a federal grant jury in Pennsylvania seemed imminent) between Hutton c.e.o. Robert Fomon and then Attorney General William French Smith, a meeting that had been carefully arranged by a former special assistant to President Reagan who had been hired by Hutton only a few days before.

Laurel: to the Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Morning Advocate, for "Prosperity in Paradise? Louisiana's Chemical Legacy," a forty-page, adless tabloid, three months in the making, that systematically assesses the breathtaking costs to the environment exacted by the expansion of Louisiana's petrochemical industry, and by the failure of the state to deal responsibly with the underside of the economic boom.

Dart: to the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, for a September 12 fashion piece that was somewhat understated. Headed SIRI VAIL CATALOG EASES ACCESS TO ACCESSORIES and sporting no fewer than four photos — three of them showing items available through Vail's mail-order service and one portraying the entrepreneur herself — the eight promotional paragraphs tucked in the fact that Vail is a former area resident, but not that she also happens to be the daughter of *P-D* editor and publisher Thomas Vail.

Dart: to Gannett's Nashville *Tennessean*, for a nine-by-seven-inch photo on the opening page of its August 6 business section showing a new rack in front of the U.S. Courthouse awaiting the September 9 arrival in the area of Gannett's *USA Today*. And, in the same vein, a dart to *USA Today*, for shamelessly devoting its September 13 Inquiry section — a total of sixty-eight column-inches, including photo, drawing, and chart — to a self-serving interview with Gannett chairman Allen H. Neuharth. Among the stop-the-presses questions put by associate editorial director Peter Prichard to his boss: "Do you think the newspaper we're putting out is consistently worth fifty cents?" (Neuharth's unflinching response: "Sure.")

e salute the 50 outstanding young Americans who are this year's winners of the Gannett Foundation Journalism Scholarships.

These talented students were selected from more than 525 applicants on the basis of their developing journalistic skills, educational aptitudes and personal qualities. Undergraduate scholarships are \$1,500 and graduate scholarships are \$3,000. All scholarships are for one year and are renewable upon entry in subsequent competitions.

Since 1935, the Gannett Foundation has provided more than \$23 million in grants to support journalism education and research, to strengthen the profession and to provide educational opportunities for students pursuing careers in the communications industry.

The 1985 journalism scholarships, continuing a 50-year tradition, reflect the Gannett Foundation's commitment to investing in people and ideas—two of our nation's most important resources.

1985 Scholarship Selection Committee

R. Neale Copple Committee Chairman

School of Journalism University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Sharon S. Brock Assistant Professor

Assistant to the Director School of Journalism Ohio State University

Donald W. Carson Professor Department of Journalism University of Arizona

Richard R. Cole

School of Journalism University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Felix Gutierrez Associate Professor

School of Journalism University of Southern California

Sharon M. Murphy Dean

College of Journalism **Marquette University**

For further information on the journalism programs of the Gannett Foundation, contact:

Gerald M. Sass Vice President/Education

For further information about the Gannett Foundation Journalism Scholarship Program, contact:

Debra J. Buckett Scholarships Administrator

Gannett Foundation Lincoln Tower Rochester, New York 14604 716-262-3315

Fifty good



The Gannett Foundation: Supporting journalism education and professionalism, mid-career development, First Amendment freedoms, opportunities for minorities and women, and journalism research.

Entering Freshmen



BERT M. HOGG





Undergraduates



CATALINA CAMIA University of Southern California











THERESA A. FRANK University of Denver











TANANARIVE P. DUE Northwestern Univers















DAREL J. JEVENS Northwestern University







MARCI R. KENON University of Southern California







JOHN G. MASTRINI University of Denver



JANICE F. MEACHAM University of Oklahom





JOSHUA J. MOSS University of Arizona





R. EVAN RAMSTAD Trinity University







TODD E. von KAMPEN University of Nebraska-Lincoln



VALERIE A. WALKER Florida A&M Universit





ROGER C. WHITE University of Texas at Arlington



MEREDITH L. WOODWARD Drake University

Graduates





JAMES D. FOX University of W



DENISE M. HAMILTON California State University,









JOHNSON University of Arizona



DEASINE SE. PALEY University of Wiscon Madison



NANCY J. PFISTER University of Arkansas at Little Rock





CAROL V. ROSE Columbia University







REATION INIVERSE

MEMORANDUM

"THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE" PRODUCTION TEAM NEWS EDITORS TO:

- ** Wednesday night, November 20, PBS will air a 90-minute special underwritten by Texas Instruments that will be one of the most talked-about programs this season. FROM:
- ** CREATION is written and hosted by Timothy Ferris of the University of Southern California, former conthe University of Southern California, former tributing editor of Rolling Stone and one of America's foremost science writers.
- ** Materials have been prepared for media use in advance of the telecast. Here's what's available and how to get it:
 - * Radio stations: For a pre-recorded telephone Radio stations: For a pre-recorded telephone interview with Timothy Ferris call toll-free 800-231-4922. (In California 800-231-4923.)
 - * For an interview on audio tape (along with the Brian Eno score) call (213) 655-8970. We'll rush a tape to you.
 - * Television stations: For a video clip tape,
 - * Newspapers: For the Ferris interview call the 800 number listed above. For a press kit and additional information call (213) 655-8970.

7449 MELROSE AVENUE, LOS ANGELES, CA 90046, (213) 655-8



ARE U.S. JOURNALISTS DANGEROUSLY LIBERAL?

The Rothman-Lichters surveys have come to be accepted as fact — even by some journalists. A noted sociologist takes a look at those surveys.

by HERBERT J. GANS

n recent years, conservative and neoconservative critics have accused journalists working for the major national, or "elite," media of imposing a liberal or left bias on the news and misleading the American people. Together with intellectuals and entertainers, journalists are condemned as a new class of villains whose values threaten America. The strongest expression of this view came from the

The strongest expression of this view came from the White House, when George A. Keyworth, the president's science adviser, said that "much of the press seems to be drawn from a relatively narrow fringe element on the far

left of our society . . . and . . . is trying to tear down America." Keyworth's opinion of the press seems to repeat the view of three social scientists who have carried out a study of journalists: Stanley Rothman, the Mary Huggins Gamble professor of government at Smith College; S. Robert Lichter, assistant professor of political science at George Washington University; and Linda Lichter, a sociologist at the same institution.

Their work has been quoted widely, with some of their most enthusiastic references coming from corporate and conservative spokesmen. For example, Herbert Schmertz, vice-president of public affairs for Mobil Oil, believes that the surveys "reveal that the views of America's leading journalists are frequently in direct opposition to prevailing American values." One of his Mobil "public service" ads,

Herbert J. Gans is a professor of sociology at Columbia University and a senior fellow at the Gannett Center for Media Studies. He is the author of, among other books, Deciding What's News. titled "The Myth of the Crusading Reporter," cites a claim by Rothman and the Lichters that 40 percent of the students at Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism favor public ownership of corporations and warns that "if [journalists] use the press to 'crusade' on behalf of these beliefs . . . they do the public a great disservice." A United Technologies ad titled "Where the Media Elite Stand," which appeared in several publications, including the Review, concluded that journalists are "out of step with the public."

Terry Dolan, the head of the National Conservative Foundation (and formerly of the National Conservative PAC), cited the Rothman-Lichters data to justify a million-dollar campaign to alert the public to "media bias," and Michael P. McDonald of the American Legal Foundation has used the research to support court cases and complaints to the FCC in order to fight what McDonald calls the media's "liberal outlook."

Even journalists from the "elite media" themselves have cited the work of Rothman and the Lichters uncritically. Among these journalists are John Corry, television critic of The New York Times, Daniel Seligman, associate managing editor of Fortune, William A. Henry III of Time, and Dom Bonafede of the National Journal. Thus, slowly but surely the notion seemingly held by the three researchers that journalists are dangerously liberal is seeping into the conventional wisdom as a scientific conclusion. Since that conclusion can be used to blame journalists for the administration's domestic and foreign policy difficulties, and indeed for any of the country's ills they report, the methods and techniques of the study deserve a close look.

he Rothman-Lichters examination of journalists is part of a larger study of American leaders and includes, among other things, a survey interview and a battery of psychological and personality tests. The interviews and tests were conducted in 1980 with a sample of 240 journalists and news executives at the three major television networks, the Public Broadcasting Service, the three national newsweeklies, The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The Wall Street Journal. The same interview and tests were given to twenty-eight students at the Columbia School of Journalism in 1982. The first research was initially reported in Public Opinion, the second in the Washington Journalism Review; because these two articles have been cited most widely, I will examine them here.1

In some respects the study is a conventional survey, and many of the findings — for example, that many journalists call themselves liberal and that most vote Democratic in

1. The two articles are: S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman, "Media and Business Elites," *Public Opinion*. October/November 1981, pp. 42-46, 59-60; and Linda Lichter, S. Robert Lichter, and Stanley Rothman, "The Once and Future Journalists," *Washington Journalism Review*, December 1982, pp. 26-27. All quotes are from these two articles. A recent paper on the same data, which Rothman delivered at a Columbia University seminar in December 1984, bore a more revealing title: "Who Are Those Journalists and Why Are They Saying Such Nasty Things?"

presidential elections — are neither new nor especially noteworthy.² What is new, different, and disturbing is the way Rothman and the Lichters analyze their data and report their findings, and it is disturbing because their approach often diverges sharply from scientific methodology.³

First, Rothman and the Lichters hide a political argument behind a seemingly objective study, highlighting the data which support that argument.

The argument is conservative-populist: to show that journalists come from prestigious backgrounds and, holding very liberal views, are therefore out of step with the rest of America. They are described as irreligious, hostile to business, and supportive of homosexuality and adultery, as well as of affirmative action. On economic issues the journalists are somewhat less liberal, the researchers admit, noting that

Rothman and the Lichters are less than scientific in their failure to announce their political agenda in advance

"few are outright socialists." Nonetheless, many are said to favor income redistribution, public ownership of corporations, and other policies that Rothman and the Lichters associate with "welfare capitalism."

The journalists' attitudes are frequently compared to the conservative ones of a sample of corporate managers who were also studied, and occasionally to those of Middle Americans, who are assumed to be even more conservative, even though Rothman and the Lichters never identify who they are or supply research data about their beliefs. Nonetheless, measuring journalists by the standards of corporate managers and conservative Middle Americans enables the authors to justify the conclusion that journalists are "cosmopolitan outsiders" with an "anti-bourgeois social perspective."

In presenting their survey findings, the researchers depart from scientific practice by adding editorial asides to the data to buttress their political argument. Thus, they write that

- 2. However, when journalists are also given the option of describing themselves as independent, many do so: 34 percent in one study of "elite-media" journalists. Forty-three percent said they were Democrats, 16 percent Republicans. John W. Johnson, Edward J. Slawski, and William W. Bowman, *The News People*, University of Illinois Press, 1976, Table 5.9, p. 226.
- 3. The five items discussed here do not exhaust the scientific questions that can be raised about the study, partly because Rothman and the Lichters have not published any scholarly papers describing their methods. They have promised to include these descriptions in a planned book and, after its publication, to place all their data in a public archive. In the meantime, however, the three researchers have not been forthcoming when scholars and others have asked detailed questions about the study's methods.

"a mere 9 percent feel strongly that homosexuality is wrong"; that "a majority would not characterize even adultery as wrong" (emphasis added). At times, Rothman and the Lichters resort to guilt by association, as when they write that "majorities of the media elite voice the same criticisms that are raised in the third world," but more often they damn with faint praise, reporting that "very few sympathize with Marx's doctrine, from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." However, the interview schedule included no question about "Marx's doctrine."

Researchers may advance political arguments, of course. but Rothman and the Lichters are less than scientific in their failure to announce their political agenda in advance and to discuss the assumptions that underlie their study. Why, for example, should journalists be compared to corporate managers, when a more apt comparison would be to other employed professionals, like teachers, social workers, and salaried lawyers? Also, what relevance do the journalists' religious affiliations and church- or synagogue-attendance patterns have to do with their performance on the job, particularly in a society that emphasizes the separation of church and state? More important, why should journalists have to share or reflect the attitudes of conservative Middle Americans or any other particular sector of the population when they must serve a much larger and far more diverse audience?

Second, Rothman and the Lichters report findings about journalists which do not accurately reflect the answers they gave to the survey questions they were asked.⁴

The journalists were not asked for their opinions, but were presented with opinion-statements with which they were asked to agree or disagree. This is standard survey technique, but in a number of instances the opinion-statements are only distantly related to the opinions which Rothman and the Lichters then attribute to the journalists — and that is not standard survey technique. Take the much-cited finding that 68 percent of the journalists are in favor of income redistribution. The actual opinion-statement read: "The government should work to substantially reduce the income gap between the rich and the poor." This says nothing about income redistribution and could mean such policies as compensatory education, full employment, or better health care, all of which help to reduce the income gap. Indeed, the statement is so vague that the normal journalist, who like any other survey respondent wants to appear as a decent human being to the interviewer, is apt to agree even if he or she is in fact opposed to income redistribution.

4. Rothman and the Lichters also improperly describe the journalists they studied. They generally call their respondents "the media elite" or "leading journalists," implying that they interviewed the most important or best-known members of the news organizations involved in the study. However, since the researchers also mention that they "selected individuals randomly among those responsible for news content," a significant proportion must have been the little-known reporters and other staffers whose names appear in six-point type on the mastheads of the newsweeklies or on rapidly rolling TV credits.

Incidentally, a massive survey conducted by the Los Angeles Times in April 1985 among 3,000 journalists and 3,000 members of the general public included a question closely resembling the above opinion-statement. This time, 50 percent of the "news staff," 37 percent of the editors, but 55 percent of the public responded favorably to the question.

Rothman and the Lichters also claim that "almost 40 percent [of the journalism students] advocate public ownership of corporations," whereas actually they only agreed with a statement that "big corporations should be taken out of private ownership and run in the public interest." The opinion-statement fails to specifically mention public ownership and is limited to big corporations, which are disliked, together with big government and big labor, by many who answer survey questions. In addition, some people, journalists included, may be reluctant to come out against the public interest.

Third, the researchers violate basic survey methodology by first inferring people's opinions from answers to single questions, and then treating their answers as strongly felt opinions in a way that makes the journalists appear militant and radical.

Opinions and values are too complicated to be determined by one opinion-statement that an interviewee can only accept or reject but not discuss. In this instance, the journalists who agreed with the single statement about income-gap

They report data
in ways that turn journalists
into opinionated
proponents of ideas
implied to be unpatriotic

reduction are not only wrongly identified as favoring income redistribution but are described as "pressing" for it. Likewise, respondents are reported as being "vehement in their support for affirmative action"; and "many leading journalists" are said to "voice a general discontent with the social system." A "substantial minority" is charged with wanting to "overhaul the entire system."

Fourth, the researchers violate scientific norms by forgetting an explicit promise to their respondents.

Before questioning began, the interviewers read the following statement:

We realize that some questions in this questionnaire are oversimplified — that is, they do not include all of the possible nuances or qualifications that might occur to a sophisticated person. The investigators are aware of this and will take this into account when analyzing results.

What the investigators did instead when analyzing results has already been suggested. Although their survey data are basically polite reactions to quickly read, overly simple opinion-statements, Rothman and the Lichters have analyzed and reported these data in ways that turn the journalists into opinionated proponents of ideas implied to be unpatriotic. In the process, the researchers have also assumed the journalists' votes in presidential elections to be based solely on ideology; they have treated journalistic tolerance of the rights of women, homosexuals, and others as an almost licentious form of social liberalism; and they have hinted that sizable numbers of their respondents hold some socialist attitudes.

This picture of journalists is sufficiently at odds with other studies of journalistic opinion to suggest that Rothman and the Lichters have let their political argument bias their findings. In contrast, a recent study of CBS and UPI coverage of the 1980 presidential campaign, carried out by Michael J. Robinson and Margaret A. Sheehan, concluded: "... in their reporting and in their private interviews, none of our reporters expressed anything approaching antisystem opinion. Most spoke as if they were moderates or 'not very political." "5

The fifth, and perhaps most serious, unscientific practice of the researchers is their presentation of a mass of data on the personal backgrounds and alleged political opinions and values of the journalists without any evidence that these are relevant to how the journalists report the news.

While Rothman and Robert Lichter have recently written
— in a letter that appeared in the August 9, 1985, Wall

Street Journal — that "journalists" personal beliefs matter
only if they affect coverage," and that this is "still an open

They do not discuss 'studies finding that journalists' personal political beliefs are irrelevant to the way they cover news

question," they proceed as if the question is closed — as if journalists' beliefs do affect the coverage. They do not refute or even discuss a sizable number of studies in which social-science researchers watched and talked with journalists at work, and which found that their personal political beliefs are irrelevant, or virtually so, to the way they covered the news.⁶

5. Michael J. Robinson and Margaret A. Sheehan, Over The Wire and On TV, Russell Sage Foundation, 1983, p. 296.

6. These studies include, among others, Edward J. Epstein, News from Nowhere, Random House, 1973; Leon V. Sigal, Reporters and Officials, D. C. Heath, 1973; Bernard Roshcoe, Newsmaking, University of Chicago Press, 1975; Gaye Tuchman, Making News, Free Press, 1978; and this writer's Deciding What's News, Pantheon Books, 1979.

These studies, which range across the print and electronic media, generally agree with what working journalists already know: that the news is mainly shaped by the size of the newshole, news organization budgets, information available from news sources and newsmakers, and by "media considerations" — for example, television's need for dramatic tape or film. Actually, most studies of news content suggest that if any personal beliefs enter the news they are most often the beliefs of the president of the United States and other high federal, state, and local officials, since they dominate the news.

In addition, news is influenced by the audience, notably by its attentiveness to "bad" news. Not only is bad news more dramatic than good news, but it also appears to be necessary for everyday life. Audiences keep up with the news partly for what Harold Lasswell, one of the founders of mass communications research, called *surveillance* — to learn about threatening events, problems, and people in the larger society that could eventually hurt them personally. If, nowadays, conservatives are unhappy about bad news, this may reflect the fact that they are in power and the bad news is likely to be about *their* politicians. But good news does not sell, and is therefore typically reported by news media that do not need to make a profit, including those in communist countries.

I arrived at very similar conclusions about how the news is shaped from my own research, gathered between 1968 and 1978 while observing and interviewing at four news organizations also sampled by Rothman and the Lichters. While I found that journalists, like everyone else, have values, the two that matter most in the newsroom are getting the story and getting it better and faster than their prime competitors — both among their colleagues and at rival news media. Personal political beliefs are left at home, not only because journalists are trained to be objective and detached, but also because their credibility and their paychecks depend on their remaining detached.

Admittedly, some journalists have strong personal beliefs and also the position or power to express them in news stories, but they are most often editors; and editors, like producers in television, have been shown to be more conservative than their news staffs. In local news media with monopolies in their markets, editors and producers sometimes encourage journalists who share their own beliefs to insert these beliefs into the news, but in most national news media the intrusion of personal beliefs is rare.

The beliefs that actually make it into the news are professional values that are intrinsic to national journalism and that journalists learn on the job. However, the professional values that particularly antagonize conservatives (and liberals when they are in power) are neither liberal nor conservative but reformist, reflecting journalism's long adherence to good-government Progressivism. Journalism—and therefore journalists—believes, among other things, in honest, fair, and competent public and private institutions and leaders. While objectivity discourages journalists from advocating this belief in the news, they develop investigative and other kinds of news stories when they find politicians, business people, union officials, and other leaders who are

dishonest, unfair, or incompetent. Thus, when the news is about unusually high oil-company profits, or about corruption in antipoverty programs, the journalists are being neither conservative nor liberal in their news judgment but are expressing the reform values of their profession.

These professional values are not imposed by "cosmopolitan outsiders," and while some reflect the do-good impulses of upper-middle class professionals, many are shared by the rest of the audience. They are often called motherhood values, and are defended by the Middle Americans who Rothman and the Lichters feel are being ignored by the journalists. As a result, the general public does not feel that journalists are biased against conservatives. A Roper Organization poll conducted in April 1984 pointedly asked its 2,000 respondents to react to a list of "some people and groups that some have said the press is out to get." Just 12 percent indicated that the press was after conservatives and the same proportion mentioned liberals.7 In fact, the polls suggest that the public considers the news media to be generally fair and unbiased, although it periodically suspects unfairness on specific stories and may be critical of the news media for other reasons, including reporters' invasions of the privacy of distraught people and journalists' arrogance in asserting their rights and privileges.

he serious shortcomings of the research conducted by Rothman and the Lichters notwithstanding, the fact remains that a number of conservatives, Middle to Upper American, are unhappy with the national news media. Although less publicized, the same discontent can be found among radicals and liberals. People with a strong interest in ideological matters have often been dissatisfied with the news media, but their dissatisfaction is also a product of certain rules of news judgment.

One discontent is the already mentioned distaste for bad news — for stories that are critical of, or have negative implications for, conservative, liberal, or radical groups, leaders, and beliefs. Conservatives feel that stories about the bombing of abortion clinics are intended as a slap at the pro-life movement, just as radicals think that news about increasing press censorship by revolutionary governments is meant to make such governments look bad, although both stories are newsworthy because they report violations of democratic procedure. The rules of news judgment call for ignoring story implications, however, with some notable exceptions including libel and national security.

A related conservative discontent is with what I call agenda stories, a phrase inspired by Michael Robinson. He has been studying television news commentary and features

7. The proportion pointing to conservatives as targets of the press was particularly noteworthy because a much higher percentage, 30 percent, mentioned the president of the U.S., although celebrities led the list with 33 percent. Interestingly, 17 percent of the poll respondents who described themselves as conservatives thought the press had it in for conservatives, but the same proportion of self-described liberals thought the press was out to get liberals.

to determine whether the pieces fit liberal or conservative agendas (or neither), a story on poverty falling into the former category, one on the foolishness of federal regulation fitting the latter, and pieces about international trade generally falling into neither. Conservatives think there is not enough coverage of conservative agenda items, but liberals, radicals, and people with other ideological agendas have similar complaints.

A final, and also related, discontent, again voiced most loudly by conservatives, is that *their* surveillance needs —

The fact remains that many conservatives are unhappy with the news media.

But the same discontent can be found among radicals and liberals

stories about threats and problems they consider important— are not receiving enough journalistic attention. Conservatives want to be kept up to date on the activities of domestic communists, secular humanists, and others whom they believe to be threatening America. Many radicals, for their part, have long been unhappy because the media do not keep track of a ruling class which they believe to be endangering the country. Similarly, liberals want more surveillance news about the Reagan administration's plans to eliminate further New Deal and Great Society programs.

The rules of news judgment call for limiting surveillance news to the most general or widely feared threats, such as natural disasters, domestic political violence, economic upheavals, and communist expansion. The rules also call for the exclusion of surveillance news about imagined threats in order to prevent panicking the audience.

In the past, journalists have generally ignored complaints by and criticism from ideologically inclined members of the news audience, but perhaps they should pay more attention to both. They may also want to reexamine the rules of news judgment to consider whether anything should be done to reduce ideological discontent and what can be done without endangering the journalistic detachment, often called objectivity, that is essential for maintaining credibility.

The studies and writings of Rothman and the Lichters express the conservative discontent, but do not address issues of the kind I have raised. Instead, they hint that the solution is to replace liberal journalists with conservatives, preferably people holding the social values of conservative Middle Americans and the economic values of corporate managers. Rothman and the Lichters are entitled to propose this solution, but I think they should advocate it explicitly, rather than making it the unstated implication of a social research project.

^{8.} Michael J. Robinson, "Jesse Helms, Take Stock," Washington Journalism Review, April 1985, pp. 14-17.



A new credibility has boosted the press's popularity.

Letter from China

Who dares to climb Tiger Mountain?

arly last year, Hu Sisheng, a veteran Chinese journalist, had an idea for a monthly magazine that would reprint articles from the overseas Chinese and foreign press. When the first issue of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Overseas Digest, as it is called in English, appeared last November, it had a press run of 400,000. A few issues later. it was up to a million. Hu says that most of the Digest's readers are young people hungry for information about life outside China and credits the monthly's success to the liberal policies of Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. "It's the most lively period for journalism in Chinese history," he says.

Although Hu's assessment is certainly an exaggeration — during the 1920s, for example, a lively press represented a wide spectrum of political opinion — there is no doubt that journalism is flourishing in China. Since Deng's return to power in the late 1970s, several newspapers and magazines that had been closed during the fiercely ideological days of the Cultural Revolution have been reopened, and literally hundreds of

by LAURENCE ZUCKERMAN

new publications have been founded. Chinese readers, who now have money to spend as a result of Deng's marketoriented economic reforms, have boosted subscriptions to record numbers. And by the end of this year, according to official estimates, China will have 67 million television sets, up from just 17 million in 1982.

Directly related to the press's increased popularity has been the return of its credibility. Naked dogma no longer suffuses every article. Stories celebrating the accomplishments of model revolutionary personages are now often balanced by exposures of corrupt party and government officials. And whereas at one time the worst earthquake in modern Chinese history went unreported, news of airplane and ship disasters, damaging floods and storms, and other unhappy events is regularly published. "You can cheat the people, but not for long," observes Li Wuen, a senior editor at the English-language China Daily. "They will find out."

John F. Burns, who reported from Beijing from 1970 to 1974 and returned last year for *The New York Times* after a stint as its Moscow bureau chief, says that the press now enjoys more freedom in China than in any other communist country, including Poland at the high point of Solidarity. "In the nineteen seventies," says Burns, "you looked between the lines — at what the Chinese press wasn't writing about. Now, there are so many different things [in the press], where do you begin?"

But just as China's opening to foreign investment and culture, as Deng recently stated, is considered an experiment that can be abandoned if proven harmful, so, too, journalistic freedom exists at the sufferance of the party and state leadership. A two-month visit to China last summer revealed an active dialogue between those who would like to see journalistic enterprise held in check and those who argue that economic prosperity and stability should allow for the expansion of journalistic independence and objective criticism. For their part, Deng and his followers in the party leadership seem to believe that China's successful modernization requires a credible and active press - but one that, at the same time, toes the party line. In effect, then, they are trying to keep the journalistic pot simmering while making sure that it does not boil over into the type of "counterrevolutionary" criticism that characterized the ill-fated democracy movement of the late 1970s.

As expounded by Mao in the early 1940s, the function of "New China's" news media was fourfold: to propagate the party's policies, gather information about the grass roots for the leadership, serve as a forum for individual grievances, and supervise the bureaucracy by exposing wrongdoing. During the ten vears of the Cultural Revolution, however, the press did little more than act as the party's mouthpiece. Since assuming power, Deng and his followers have attempted to realize the media's original, and broader, mission. Newspaper grievance departments, abandoned during the Cultural Revolution, have been revived to address and publicize people's complaints, and reporters have been given some power to investigate the state and party bureaucracies.

"The leadership is very clear-headed about the effect the economic reforms will have [on some segments of society]," one Beijing journalist told me. "They know that some people and some party cadres will be corrupted." One re-

Laurence Zuckerman is associate editor of the Review.

sponse has been to use the press to make examples of miscreants and show that the leadership is on top of things. In the past five years, newspapers have regularly run stories about officials caught stealing or using their authority to enrich themselves or victimize others. Last summer, for example, readers throughout China learned that party members had been sacked for importing and screening pornographic videotapes, that a large pharmaceutical factory had been manufacturing and distributing bogus medicines, and that hundreds of party officials had been implicated in the biggest corruption scandal since the introduction of the economic reforms: a \$1 billion smuggling ring in which more than 89,000 motor vehicles and millions of other luxury items such as television sets, video recorders, and motorcycles were illegally imported.

Still, in a country that has weathered years of often violent political pitches and yaws, most reporters and editors dutifully wait for their cue from above before taking action. Last spring, for example, every Chinese work unit in Beijing was told the details of planned

food-price increases. Journalists, however, were instructed not to publish anything about the price hikes, the biggest since the Communists took power in 1949. The day before the increases were to take effect, lines formed throughout the city as people stocked up on groceries. Yet, despite the fact that the increases had already been reported in the foreign press, Chinese journalists, heeding their instructions, sat on the story.

In exposing large-scale corruption, reporters are often forced to defer to the party's disciplinary apparatus, which may spend months investigating and then hand the results to the news media. Several journalists told me, for example, that they had learned of the smuggling ring months before it was disclosed by the party leadership but were not permitted to write about it.

Yet while the leadership keeps the press on a leash, it clearly does not want it to slip back into the cravenness that characterized it during the Cultural Revolution. Journalists are regularly encouraged to, in effect, attack the system by exposing corruption — the ultimate aim being, of course, to strengthen the

system. "As we all know, it is not easy to criticize in newspapers," declared the *People's Daily* in late 1983. "There is opposition not only from the targets of the criticism, but also from their 'connections,' who may include leading cadres in important departments. A reporter who wants to write exposures has to be willing to take enormous trouble, spend a lot of time, and risk retaliation. However, any journalist with a strong sense of responsibility and initiative should 'dare go to the Tiger Mountain even though he knows there are tigers there."

or those who have dared to face the tigers of bureaucracy, the record of support from the authorities has been spotty. When a press photographer was beaten up by security guards while covering an industrial exhibition in Beijing last winter, his paper, the Beijing Evening News, reported the incident. The story was immediately picked up by other papers as well as by radio and television stations, and the All-China Journalists Association denounced the beating as "intolerable."

Over the past three years the number of television sets in China has nearly quadrupled - from 17 million to 67 million.



Jean-Pierre Laffont/Sygma

The guards were quickly punished. (Some were fined, others lost their jobs.)

The case of Sun Zhonglin, former editor-in-chief of Marketing Weekly, a business publication in the northern city of Shenyang, was quite different. According to the New China News Agency, in October 1983 Sun was falsely accused of economic crime and arrested. Officials raided his office and took some ninety documents and papers. Sun spent eight months in jail; he was later exonerated, but many of the documents, which had been "illegally confiscated," have never been returned to him.

t a symposium in Shanghai at the end of last year, a group of thirty journalists, publishing officials, and legislators met to discuss the issues that might be addressed by a press law. According to one account, several participants complained that journalism is hindered by too many "parents-in-law" interfering in the process. Days are spent verifying articles again and again, they said; then, after just a few words from above, the article is shelved. Others protested that while the country was reaping the benefits of

a liberal economic policy and increased foreign contact, its cultural policies had changed very little. Now that hundreds of new publications in numerous specialties were appearing, one participant said, the party propaganda department should not be solely responsible for determining which ones will be officially approved. A press law was necessary, they agreed, to ensure journalists' rights and shield them from harassment.

About the same time that this symposium was going on in Shanghai, the Chinese Writers' Association was holding its fourth congress in Beijing. What was expected to be a dull affair turned into a jubilant celebration when, in his keynote speech, Hu Qili, a member of the party's secretariat, gave freedom of expression a ringing endorsement: "It is necessary to give free rein to individual creativity, powers of observation, and imagination." Hu declared. "The writer must think for himself, have full freedom to choose subjects, themes, and methods of artistic expression. . . . For a long time, the party has interfered too much, given . . . too many administrative orders," Hu continued. "The cadres sent by the party to the literature

and arts associations are good comrades, but they don't understand much about literature and art.''

Buoyed by the leadership's support of creative freedom for writers, many journalists began discussing how they too might free themselves from the party's yoke. Last April, the leadership responded. In a lengthy speech that dominated a large portion of an issue of People's Daily, Communist Party secretary Hu Yaobang rebutted the arguments of those who had been agitating for more journalistic autonomy. "The party's journalism is the party's mouthpiece," Secretary Hu said flatly, adding, "No matter what kind of reforms we are carrying out, we absolutely cannot change in the slightest the nature of the party's journalism or change the relation of this work to the party."

Hu went on to spell out the official propaganda policy --- one reflecting the leadership's considerable ambivalence. Just because the press is the party's mouthpiece there is no need for it to be boring, he said. But, he warned, journalists must not allow the spread of "feudal, superstitious, and decadent capitalist ideas under the guise of making things more interesting." Again, while reporters should strive to be more timely, they should not rush a story into print. ("If we do not . . . ask for necessary instruction from the higher authorities but go headlong into action, we will very likely cause damage to the prestige of our party.") Finally, reporters should investigate and expose corruption and other "unhealthy trends" but must bear in mind that, while "it would be very easy for someone to collect a hundred scandals each day . . . it would not be true to say that the stories represent the entire scene of life in socialist China." Hu suggested that an accurate picture of China would be drawn if the press devoted 80 percent of its space to good news and the remaining 20 percent to the "seamy side."

After several foreign observers had told me that Hu's speech had had a chilling effect on the press, I was surprised to find that, only a few months after its delivery, Chinese journalists tended to regard Hu's tough talk as little more than a restatement of policies they had been working under for the past three or four years.



While Deng's economic reforms have sped the introduction of western technology, newspapers still painstakingly set type by hand, choosing from some 5,000 characters.

"Journalists are very happy now," says Wang Jinhe, a section chief for the New China News Agency's English-language wire and a graduate of Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism. "They can write what they want, they have freedom to experiment. and they are encouraged to report from the grass roots and expose crime." When I asked Wang about the continuing debate among party leaders over journalistic freedom, he replied that the differences were not significant. "The economic reforms are an experiment," he explained. "The party leaders don't know what will work. And since they don't know, they allow for some debate." Wang, who is in his late thirties and spent most of the Cultural Revolution working at New China News Agency, believes that what is significant is that now "we are all working for the people, to make China strong, not to make an emperor." What happens if the situation changes and journalists are forced to write "party truths" rather than the truth as they see it? "It won't," he said. "The leaders know better."

more measured response to the same question came from Liu Binyan, a reporter at People's Daily and one of China's foremost journalists and writers. His career, with its wild swings of fortune, is typical of many journalists who started out filled with revolutionary fervor. During the anti-rightist campaign of the late 1950s, Liu was forced out of his job as a newspaper reporter. He returned briefly in the early 1960s only to be sent to work on a farm during the Cultural Revolution. He was finally rehabilitated in 1979 and published "Between People and Monsters," a detailed account of the machinations of a corrupt party official in China's northern Heilongjiang province. The story, which was based on fact and which appeared in the monthly People's Literature, brought him acclaim from readers (who presumably recognized many of the corrupt practices of its villain), but angered many cadre members who felt that it denigrated the party. Since then, Liu has published numerous pieces of "reportage" (a cross between fiction and nonfiction akin to new journalism) and has become a leading exponent of freedom of expression.



Liu Binyan of People's Daily says Chinese journalists are much too timid

Liu's stories often expose the true-life complexities that underlie the government's policies. In "The Fifth Man in the Overcoat," for example, he tells the story of a man who returns to his position after twenty years only to find that the official supervising his rehabilitation is the same man responsible for having had him purged. Liu is considered China's leading "exposure" reporter and his work still ruffles feathers. A colleague of his says that Liu spends half his time writing and the other half defending his work.

When I arrived at the modest threeroom apartment that Liu shares with his wife in the People's Daily compound, he proudly displayed two English books he was reading: The New Muckrakers by Leonard Downie and an American journalism textbook, Investigative Reporting, by David Anderson and Peter Benjaminson. What did he think, I asked, about Hu Yaobang's directive that the news media should devote 80 percent of its space to the positive aspects of Chinese society and 20 percent to the negative? Liu, a broad-chested and vigorous man in his late fifties, leaned back and laughed. "I would be happy if it were [as much as] twenty percent," he said. It is not a question of the quantity of criticism, he continued, but of its depth. "You can criticize a salesgirl or you can criticize a cadre. Both are criticism but they are very different." Chinese journalists are still afraid to expose official misconduct, he lamented. For their part, party and government officials are not used to receiving real criticism. "I'm trying to get China to get used to it," he said.

Liu believes that the Maoist principle that all journalism must serve the party needs revision; it must, he says, primarily serve the people. Liu assured me that party secretary Hu Yaobang agreed with him on this point, adding that the present leadership is "trying to create the conditions under which China can become more democratic and avoid future upheavals like the Cultural Revolution." Democracy, he said, "needs a kind of soil. Economic progress creates the soil for democracy. When a peasant is hungry he hasn't much to defend. As peasants acquire more and learn more, they will be able to choose who best represents their interests."

Just how committed the leadership is to shepherding China toward democracy is what many Chinese reporters wonder about every day. China may indeed be freer than at any time since the Communist victory in 1949, but it is a freedom that exists within the confines of the same institutions that carried out the purges and rehabilitations of the past. Until the party truly commits itself to safeguarding some form of independent inquiry, journalists will continue to peer cautiously over their shoulders, which, it seems, is exactly what Deng wants.

Hot properties: the media

Who's doing what

— and why — to whom?

A guide for journalists

by KAREN ROTHMYER

hen CBS announced in September that it would offer early retirement to about 2,000 employees, a spokeswoman described the move as "directly related" to the company's earlier decision to buy back 21 percent of its outstanding stock. That action had effectively thwarted Ted Turner's bid to take over the network, but it had also left CBS with a huge new debt of close to \$1 billion.

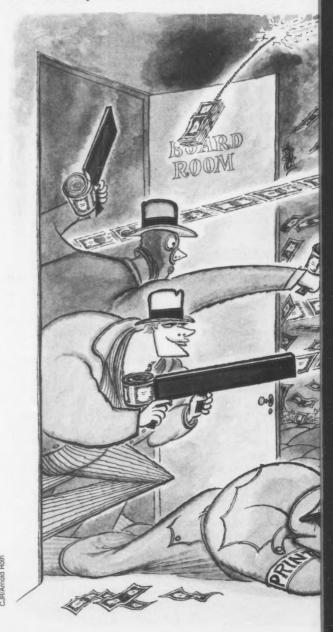
The CBS early-retirement plan was only one immediate and highly visible result of a phenomenon that has been occurring throughout the media industry. For the past year or so, media properties, particularly broadcast properties, have been the focus of a frenzy of buying and selling activity. From the purchase of ABC by Capital Cities Communications, Inc. for \$3.5 billion through Capital Cities' sale of more than fifty cable systems to the Washington Post Company for \$350 million, it's been hard to keep track of the difference between Multimedia and Metromedia, let alone the difference between a leveraged buyout and junkbond financing.

While some of the moves, like the Capital Cities-ABC purchase, have simply made already large media companies larger, others have introduced new players into the bigstakes media arena. Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts & Company, for example, a New York investment firm, is poised to vault into the top ranks of broadcast companies through its leveraged buyout of Storer Communications, one of the country's largest TV and cable firms. (A leveraged buyout usually consists of the acquisition of all of a company's stock by a group of investors including top officials of the acquired company.)

Other media sales have significantly modified the character of the parties involved. The Tribune Company, for example, publishers of the New York *Daily News* and the *Chicago Tribune*, has become a potentially powerful factor in broadcasting with its agreement to purchase KTLA-TV in Los Angeles. With the addition of KTLA to its already substantial broadcast holdings, the Tribune Company is set to become fourth after the networks in the number of TV-owning households it reaches. Similarly, Rupert Murdoch, whose major U.S. acquisitions previously have been limited mainly to the print media, has arranged to gain control of a major group of independent television stations whose ownership will put him in a position to try to rival the networks.

Whether all of this activity has any significance for journalists, or for the public at large, is hard to say. The News-

paper Guild called at its 1985 convention for congressional action to limit media concentration after president Charles A. Perlik, Jr., spoke of the dangers of "an industry dominated by bankers and big investors," as well as the threat of concentrated media power being used for "political propaganda purposes." Other critics, looking at the huge amounts of debt involved in most media purchases, have predicted major budget cutbacks, which they believe will result in lower-quality television programs and an exodus of committed journalists from the field. Still others worry that as ownership concentration increases there will be a



Karen Rothmyer is a contributing editor of the Review.

-buying spree explained

reduction in the diversity of voices speaking to the public on matters of local and national concern.

Indifference and confusion in the newsroom

Newsrooms themselves appear little affected by the action swirling around them. "As long as the new owners don't change salaries or benefits most employees don't care," says the general manager of one midwest television station that has been sold twice in two years. Even at Dow Jones & Company, parent of *The Wall Street Journal*, where reporters and editors deal with mergers and their implications

all the time, a stockholder suit opposing the company's efforts to institute anti-takeover measures has evoked little apparent interest. Asked about the suit, which could affect all shareholders including those in the company's employee stock-purchase plans, Eric Frankland, the generally militant head of the Dow Jones house union, replies, "The issue hasn't come up."

Perhaps part of the reluctance of journalists to get involved stems from their feelings of inadequacy in weighing the validity of gloomy predictions like Perlik's against the reasoned voices of Wall Street. Keith Gollust of Coniston



Partners, a group of New York investors that made a bid for Storer, argues that fears of profit-hungry investors seizing control of the media industry are exaggerated. "There's a presumption that 'Wall Street types' are cold-hearted and are only interested in maximizing the bottom line," Gollust says. "If you're trying only to maximize short-run returns then you're not managing well."

To be sure, even when management does show itself to be highly concerned with costs and profits, this hasn't proven automatically to be a bad thing. The program director of a West Coast television station that has changed hands twice in the recent past says, for example, that the owners who started the selling activity were "somewhat lethargic and resistant to change" while the most recent owners "really understood the business and produced great improvement in the management style."

The deeper issue, as the program director sees it, is the extent to which any owner is willing these days to go beyond the basics. Recalling his early years working for a family-owned company that paid as much attention to public service as to profits, he says that under the most recent management, "We didn't take the further step to become a community-oriented local station. They and the others like them are looking more for a quick turnaround. They don't look at communities and the people who serve them."

And so it goes. To talk about current media buying and selling activity is inevitably to get into a discussion of the media industry itself, from the changing role of the Federal Communications Commission to the passing of small-town, small-time American business. In many ways what is happening now is reminiscent of the period when chains began

to dominate the newspaper industry, a phenomenon that appears to have had mixed results. While awaiting definitive evidence on the implications of the merger frenzy, about all that journalists or anyone else can do by way of making sense of the current situation is to try to keep the players straight and to listen to both sides.

Why this stampede to buy media companies?

To begin with the obvious, it is clear that the current mediaacquisition craze has been largely fueled by the simple desire
to make a bundle. The prospect of either buying now and
selling at a spectacular profit later, or of making enough
frightening noises to make a company buy out one's interest
at a premium — a practice commonly known as greenmail
— has been enough to lure many players into the game.
"We're in this to make money," says Keith Gollust of
Coniston Partners, which began its efforts to take over Storer
by buying up a large amount of Storer's stock at relatively
low prices. Now, with Storer's having accepted a bid that
makes each share worth as much as twice what Coniston
paid for it, Coniston stands to make a profit of about \$40
million. "We consider we've won a victory beyond our
wildest dreams," Gollust says.

Kohlberg, Kravis, in turn, the successful Storer bidder, is selling off KTLA-TV in Los Angeles for more than half a billion dollars — twice what it paid in 1983 when it bought KTLA in conjunction with some of the station's top management. Several of those members of top management will now become millionaires, according to financial documents examined by the Los Angeles Times.

Then there are the handmaidens to the megadeals. "The

Media mergers: assessing the coverage

Jeffrey E. Epstein, an investment banker with First Boston Corporation, which has been involved in many media mergers and acquisitions, says the most striking thing to him about the coverage of the current media buying phenomenon has been the sheer amount of attention devoted to such activity. "Allied and Signal [Allied Corporation and Signal Companies, which agreed last May to a \$5 billion merger] was a larger deal than ABC and Capital Cities," Epstein says. "But they were news for two days in the business pages and went away. ABC was front-page news for days."

As for the quality of the coverage from the point of view of financial details, Epstein says it's been "pretty good," an assessment shared by others, including Andrew J. Schwartzman, executive director of the Media Access Project, a public interest law firm that has generally been critical of the recent activities of the FCC and of moves toward concentration of media power. Where coverage has fallen down, according to Schwartzman, is in assessing "the impact on media markets and on the marketplace of ideas." As one example, Schwartzman cites the potential impact of Rupert Murdoch's proposed fourth network.

Media critic Ben Bagdikian says he thinks journalists have

done a better job on reporting the implications of acquisitions and mergers in other industries than they have in their own. "Public policy problems in nonjournalistic corporations don't strike the same nerve," he says.

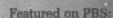
Jeffrey Epstein would argue that the public policy questions perceived by Bagdikian aren't there to start with. "It seems to me that the media industry is much less concentrated than, for example, steel," he says. And, he adds, from what he's seen, there are "seldom big political shifts" when a change in media ownership does in fact take place. His own chief suggestions for improvement are that there should be more follow-up to see what effects there are from ownership shifts and that there should be less emphasis on what he calls the "soap opera" aspects of media deals, such as squabbles within families divided over whether or how to sell their holdings.

Schwartzman says that as far as he's concerned the best thing that could be done to improve coverage would be to assign good reporters to regulatory agencies, including the FCC. "The FCC has almost always been abysmally covered," he says. One exception, he says, was an excellent AP reporter who, having mastered the beat, was transferred to the Pentagon.

K.R.

Public Television

Fall Preview



Last Place on Earth'

And War Mystery! River Journeys Nature Wonderworks Creation Of The Universe **Great Performances** Treasure Houses Of Britain and more inside ...

> This special section in the Leadership Network* magazines The editorial conten

Mobil Masterpiece Theatre

Two Men, One Great Ambition

"The Last Place on Earth," a six-part drama based on the epic Scott-Amundsen race to the South Pole. Starts October 20 at 9 p.m. Eastern Time.*

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

The day Robert Scott finally reached the South Pole, on January 17, 1912, was undoubtedly the worst of his horrendous 850-mile journey. For in that arctic vastness he found the tent left by his rival explorer, the Norwegian Roald Amundsen, whose team had beaten Scott by one month. Mobil Masterpiece Theatre opens its 15th season with "The Last Place on Earth," a six-part dramatization of the Scott-Amundsen race to the South Pole, which reveals a less flattering side of Scott that some historians have ignored.

"In England Scott is held up as a hero to school children," said director Ferdinand Fairfax in an interview about the series. "Scott was brave, full of reserve and aplomb, a perfect gent. He's the ideal English hero. He failed and then he died. Amundsen is held up as a cad, the man who survived by eating the dogs. People overlooked that Scott ate the horses."

Scott, played by Martin Shaw, is illprepared for his mission despite his familiarity with the realities of the region (he had a gold medal from the Royal Geo-

> Martin Shaw as Scott

Sverre Anker Ousdal as Amundsen



Crystal Anniversary for Mobil Masterpiece Theatre

Fifteen years ago if you made a call on a Sunday night, you probably reached a friend willing to chat. Then, in January of 1971, the lines went cold; if you dared to dial, a voice would inform you that it was impossible to talk—at this very minute Churchill was waging the Battle of Blenheim, or Poldark was bedding Demelza, or Lillie Langtry was risking social ruin by pouring a drink down the back of Edward VII.

Mobil Masterpiece Theatre had arrived; the only voice you wanted to hear on a Sunday night was Alistair Cooke's. And with this arrival, the miniseries was born.

"The First Churchills" (the first Mobil Masterpiece Theatre presentation) introduced the miniseries to American TV viewers, who over the next few years began to talk of the dashing Poldark or the homey Mrs. Bridges as though they were members of the family. Miss an episode, and you risked smiling blankly at the talk of next Saturday night's dinner party. (Over the years, Mobil Masterpiece Theatre has re-

ceived many Emmy awards. "Upstairs, Downstairs" alone received seven Emmys, and is the series most often associated with Mobil Masterpiece Theatre.)

It was not just that Mobil Masterpiece Theatre drew us so firmly into other people's lives; "Ma Perkins" had done that years ago. It was that Mobil Masterpiece Theatre did it so well, featuring brilliant performers like Alan Bates, Glenda Jackson, Derek Jacobi, Rosemary Harris, Anna Massey, Anthony Hopkins, and many more. (This season Max Von Sy-

dow in "The Last Place on Earth" and Diana Rigg in "Bleak House" are added to the list.)

Five years ago Mobil, which has been underwriter for Masterpiece Theatre since its inception, decided to provide similar backing for "Mystery!" and now when you call a friend on Thursday nights a voice explains that it is tied up helping Sherlock Holmes in his Baker Street digs, or lending a hand to those "Partners in Crime," Tommy and Tuppence. Oh dear.

The Mobil Television Season on PBS 1985-86

Masterpieces

Masterpiece Theatre 9pm Sundays, Begins October 13
The Good Soldier The Last Place on Earth The Irish R.M.H.
Lord Mountbatten: The Last Viceroy The Tale of Beatrix Potter
Bleak House The Jewel in the Crown By the Sword Divided I

MYSTER

Mystery! 9pm Thursdays, Begins October 24
Death of an Expert Witness Agatha Christie's Miss Marple
The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes II Charters & Caldicott
Partners in Crime I & II My Cousin Rachel Praying Mantis
Agatha Christie Mysteries

& Specials

Pride of Place Building the American Dream The Compleat Gilbert & Sullivan The TV Businessman The Living Planet King Lear

from Mobil

MOBIL MASTERPIECE THEATRE

THANNIVERSARY SEASON 1985-6

CONTINUOUS SUPPORT OF PUBLIC TELEVISION

MADE POSSIBLE BY A GRANT FROM Mobil'

Mobil Masterpiece Theatre

graphical Society for an earlier expedition to the Antarctic). He decides to use mechanical sleds, and we watch as the treads break down and sink through the ice; in addition to sled dogs, he uses ponies to carry equipment, but then has to cart their food along (unlike the dogs, the horses don't eat blubber); he brings skis for his men, but they end up abandoning them because they don't know how to use them.

Scott does little else to inspire the crew's confidence. One of his men, lying in bed with a bandage over his eyes, growls, "Ten years ago, when I was 20, I drove a team of dogs across Siberia 2,000 miles. I learned the narrowness of the line man walks between farce and tragedv. Tell him [Scott] that a man who sits in his tent in the Antarctic and whines about the weather is unfit to lead." The cold, however, seems to dampen everyone's spirits, and Amundsen, played by Sverre Anker Ousdal, is shown arousing hostilities in his men as well. (Max Von Sydow plays Amundsen's mentor, Fridtjof Nansen.)

Scott's wife, Kathleen, an independent woman who pursued her own interests as an accomplished sculptor, is played by Susan Wooldridge (Daphne Manners in "The Jewel and the Crown," which will be rerun later this season). Kathleen is the dominant force in the marriage, pushing Scott to pursue his explorations. When he becomes discouraged with all the arrangements for the expedition, she snaps, "It's not detail. It's

destiny!" The expanse of ice and snow that contributed to the film's stark beauty led to special problems. "The snow had to be unbroken. There couldn't be a lot of footprints at the South Pole, so whenever we shot the expedition coming toward us, we had to loop way back so that they could come forward over fresh snow, said Fairfax. He also came to appreciate the problems Scott and Amundsen had with crews and cold weather. The film crew spent eight weeks in Canada's Frobisher Bay and two in Greenland, where temperatures ranged from minus 20 to minus 59. "People always say when you get into those temperatures, it's the machinery that lets you down. It isn't. It's

about things."

Some English viewers inevitably were unhappy with Fairfax's portrayal of Scott and his wife. (Imagine Neil Armstrong climbing out of Apollo 11 and stumbling over a Russian guidebook, and you'll be better able to understand British resentment toward Amundsen.) But, said Fairfax, "It seemed legitimate to look at who this man really was. . . . Every word that we could base on what someone wrote or said, we did. Those interested in

the people. People get slow and grouchy

maintaining the Scott myth didn't like this at all."

The undisputed facts are the bleak outcome of the return trip. On February 17 one of Scott's men fell descending the Beardmore glacier and died soon after. Blizzards slowed the rest of the party and food began to run out. On March 17 another of the men walked out alone into the blizzard to die. The three survivors covered ten more miles and then another blizzard sealed them into their tent, where, out of food and only 11 miles from fresh supplies, they died.

On March 29, Scott wrote a final entry in his diary: "Every day we have been ready to start for our depot 11 miles away, but outside the door of the tent it remains a scene of whirling drift.... We shall stick it out to the end, but we are getting weaker, of course, and the end cannot be far. It seems a pity but I do not think I can write anymore."

When Amundsen returned to England, he met with a reception as icy as the land he'd just left. On Mobil Masterpiece Theatre's 15th season, in a film that is beautifully photographed and impressively acted, he is finally given credit for being the first man to reach "The Last Place on Earth."

Presented by WGBH.
Funded by Mobil Corporation.

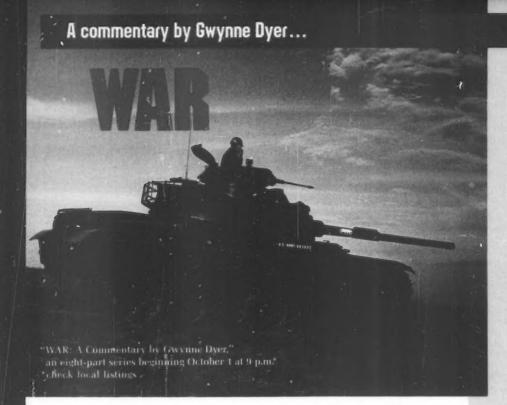
Diana Rigg in "Bleak House"

Bleak House

"Bleak House," an eightpart drama of the Dickens classic. Begins December 1 at 9 p.m."
"check local listings

The scourge of lawyers and legalese is nothing new, as this masterful cdaptation of Dickens's novel Bleak House shows. The case of Jarndyce v. Jarndyce—about the camplicated execution of a will—goes on and on, drawing more and more people in its wake. Characters with mysterious pasts and names like Mrs. Pardiggle, Prince Turveydrop, and Cuppy keep popping up as this Victorian world sinks into decay.

The story should have particular appeal to the American audience, knee-deep as the country is in lawyers. Dickens uses the law case to show how society has got itself by the tail, chasing about in circles instead of moving forward. One of the unwilling participants ex-plains: "The lawyers have twisted it into such a state of bedevilment that the original merits of the case have long disappeared from the face of the earth." Diona Rigg stars as the restless Lady Dedlock, whose "weariness of soul lies before her, as it lies behind," and Denholm Elliot is The uardian. Lawyers, laymen et at are urged to watch.



War, the horrible but inevitable response to conflict, has been with us at least since civilization. It once affected mainly soldiers and leaders, but in the last two centuries has escalated to alarming proportions. This sobering eight-part series, "War: A Commentary by Gwynne Dyer," chronicles the last 200 years of man's fight against man.

The programs were shot on location in ten countries, including the U.S. and USSR, and we see the armed forces of six nations. Dyer interviews a range of people knowledgeable about warfare-historians, philosophers, prominent generals, young recruits. In the second episode, for example, a group of young men arrives at Parris Island, and they're turned into "highly motivated truly dedicated rompin' stompin' bloodthirsty kill-crazy United States Marine Corps recruits, SIR!" The poor young men, heads like billiard balls, eyes terrified, struggle to become soldiers as their socks droop, their rifles get dirty, as they dangle from ropes, scramble up nets, or set up tents ("You only did one thing wrong-it's inside

"I guess you could say in a way I brainwash 'em a little bit," one drill instructor admits. "You couldn't survive in a combat situation with the morals you have in everyday life," says another. "If you get paid to look down your sights and pull a trigger and kill a man, that's what you do."

"The secret of basic training," said Dyer later during a discussion about the program, "is that it's not really about teaching people at all; it's about changing people to do things they wouldn't ordinarily do. The recruit is stripped of all evidence of his civilian identity—his hair, his clothes, everything that makes him an individual."

If the common soldier is merely following orders, then is war the fault of the officer—the one who, according to writer Paul Fussell, knows precisely "how much of his soldiers he can use up and get the job done"? No, explained Dyer; by agreeing to become soldiers, all of them agree to die when asked to—by whomever makes the ultimate decision to fight.

"Here you have a bunch of people who you pay and train to kill foreigners. Put that way, it doesn't sound like the kind of profession you'd like your child to go into.

"But the thing that gives it some dignity is that they also have to be willing to be killed. In the end, I think the problem is the sovereign state. How do you get to the point where you can surrender some of your sovereignty? After the First World War, we had scared ourselves so badly we formed the League of Nations and that didn't work too well. Then after the Second World War, the governments got together in the United Nations. The writing's on the wall. It says, 'March barefoot to Mongolia.' It's a hard task but it's pretty clear it's the direction we have to go in."

What Dyer does, and does well, is show how good and intelligent people of

The Eight Episodes

Episode one: "The Road to Total War." Dyer shows how modern nationalism and modern technology have joined to change war from battles between small groups of professional soldiers to the destruction of millions. With paintings, photographs, and film, this episode documents the terrible excitement of war—and the terrible consequence.

2 Episode two: "Anybody's Son Will Do." Dyer visits Parris Island and follows a band of green recruits as they are turned into professional soldiers in this sometimes moving, often wry segment.

Episode three: "The Profession of Arms." Here we see the remarkable similarity in military jobs all over the world. The military officers of various countries may have more in common with each other than with their own countrymen. In one of many interviews, General Ben-Chanaan of the Israeli Defense Forces speaks candidly of a truth all officers learn: you can do everything right and still get it wrong—lose the battle and your mon.

Episode four: "The Deadly Game of Nations." Dyer looks at why governments—and the people they represent—feel the need to keep armies and fight wars. Israel, with its struggle to hold its own among the Arab nations of the Middle East, is the focus.

5 Episode five: "Keeping the Old Game Alive." Dyer documents NATO's conventional war games, held every autumn in central Europe as the combined forces of 15 member countries conduct an elaborate dress rehearsal for World War III.

Episode six: "Notes on Nuclear War." Dyer follows the development of the arms race, from Hiroshima to the Cuban missile crisis to the current nuclear stalemate.

ZEpisode seven: "Goodbye War." From the League of Nations to the United Nations, Dyer talks about why efforts to achieve a worldwide peace have failed.

Episode eight: "The Knife Edge of Deterrence." This final segment was not part of the original series; it was produced by station KCTS in Seattle, and hosted by Edwin Newman. It presents alternative viewpoints, focusing on deterrence, from Truman's post-WW II administration to Reagan's "Star Wars" polan.

Mobil Masterpiece Theatre presents:

The Last Place on Earth



Scott and Amundsen both wanted to be first to the Pole. One of them won. The other became a hero.

Mobil

Starring Sverre Anker Ousdal, Martin Shaw, Max Von Sydow, Susan Wooldridge A six-part series begins Sunday October 20 at 9PM on PBS Check local listings Host: Alistair Cooke

Based on The Last Place on Earth by Roland Huntford, published by Atheneum and available in bookstores. 88 Closed captioned for hearing impaired viewers

MYSTERY!
PRESENTS

ELERE VIII NASS

A - grave see as beginn Thurs, ther. 24, 9PM on PES Check to call things.

Meste Vincenc Price.

Mobil

varying professions and responsibilities slip step-by-step into the throes of war. He lets the interviewees speak without setting them up to prove his point. His warriors are not evil; they are men doing the job they've been asked to do.

"It's a complicated and slippery business which can't be blamed on arms merchants or ideologues. If I got it right, the series ought to be an analysis rather

than a polemic."

"We've gone on fighting wars all through our history because we've been willing to pay the price," said Dyer. "Now the price is too high."

Not everyone agrees on the price, and there will always be differences when determining what's worth fighting for. Dyer's enlightening commentary, however, graphically demonstrates how terribly costly anything worth fighting for is.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada and KCTS. Funded by Public Television Stations (PTV Stations) and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB).



Gwynne Dyer, who writes an international affairs column that appears in 200 newspapers in 50 countries, is well qualified to talk of war. His military experience includes service as a reserve officer in three navies (Canadian, American, British), two years of teaching military affairs at the Canadian Forces College, Toronto, and four years as a senior lecturer in war studies at Britain's Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. "War: A Commentary by Gwynne Dyer" grew out of a radio program. called "Goodbye War," which aired in Canada in 1979 and has since been broadcast in seven countries, including the United States.

Dyer, who lives in London with his wife and two teenage sons, concludes that we can no longer afford a tit-for-tat world. "Truth is," says Dyer, "we love our countries too much for their own good. And for ours."

Who watches what...

Irving Kristol, editor of The Public Interest, likes the British imports best—"Brideshead Revisited" and Mobil Masterpiece Theatre's "The Jewel in the Crown." He also watches The MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour.

William F. Buckley, editor of National Review and host of PBS's Firing Line, doesn't have much time for television, but enjoyed "Upstairs, Downstairs," which was presented on Mobil Masterpiece Theatre.

Mayor Ed Koch likes to relax in his library and watch Mobil Masterpiece Theatre.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan tunes in regularly to The MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour.

Senator Jay Rockefeller, whose wife, Sharon, is on the board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, obviously watches a lot of public TV. His favorite: Washington Week in Review.

Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole likes to settle down with The MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour.

John Updike says, "My wife and I have both been very attentive to the program on China and we're addicted to Mystery! Some years ago I liked Kenneth Clark's 'Civilisation' and 'The Shock of the New,' and there's one about nature—David Attenborough's 'The Living Planet'—which I enjoy. There are times when you can see one too many praying mantises, but by and large I like watching it."

Judy Woodruff, of The Mac-Neil/Lehrer Newshour, says, "I watch Frontline and Mac-Neil/Lehrer, but not necessarily in that order. And also Masterpiece Theatre." But the television in the house she shares with husband Al Hunt of The Wall Street Journal is usually tuned to Mister Rogers' Neighborhood or Sesame Street. Those are the programs her three-year-old son likes to watch.







William F. Buckley



Mayor Ed Koch



Senator Daniel Patrick Moyniha



Senator Jay Rockefeller



Secretary Elizabeth Dole



John Updike



Judy Woodruff

Mobil Masterpiece Theatre presents Charles Dickens'

BLEAK HOUSE

Sterring Diana Rigg & Derholm Elliot
All eight-part schiel begins
Sunday, December 1 at 9 PM on PBS
Chack local listings
Hasti Alistoir Cooke

And we visual and visit and it or settle it.

(i) and copliant for hearing induced intings

Mobil 15

Wonderworks

"KONRAD," a two-part program, October 7 and 14, 8 p.m.

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

This year Wonderworks has a 25-week season that includes stars such as Loretta Swit, David Birney, Carol Burnett, and Carrie Fisher.

Many a parent has wished he or she could put that boisterous little boy in a box, but Konrad starts out there, a factorymade child delivered to the wrong address. The eccentric Mrs. Bartolotti stunned by the arrival of the crated Konrad, soon settles into motherhood. Ah, but the factory wants him back and thus begins a hilarious campaign, waged by Ned Beatty and Polly Holliday (the smart-talk-ing Southerner Flo from "Alice"), to keep Konrad (played by Huckleberry Fox, the younger son from Terms of Endearment). The programs presented on Wonderworks have been chosen with children particularly in mind, and are done with such skill that parents will want to watch as well.

Produced by the Children's and Family Consortium (WQED, KCET, KTCA, South Carolina ETV, WETA). Funded by CPB, PTV Stations, and the National Endowment for the Arts.

Great Performances

"DR. FISCHER OF GENEVA." October 11.

"OLIVIER: A LIFE," October 25 and November 1, 9 p.m.*

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

TV's longest-running performance series launches its 13th season this fall with a wonderful lineup.

Last year Alan Bates was "An Englishman Abroad"; this year he's abroad again as "Dr. Fischer of Geneva," a wealthy eccentric who takes pleasure in finding out exactly how greedy the rich can be. Based on the Graham Greene story, the show features the late James Mason in one of his final roles.

Also on Great Performances this season is "Olivier: A Life," a biography of the great actor.

"I am now in my anecdotage," said Laurence Olivier upon being asked what he planned to do with the rest of his life, and indeed he is in this two-part program of the man critic Kenneth Tynan called "the greatest actor alive." More familiar as the darkly romantic Heathcliff or the classic Henry V, the real-life actor is as fascinating as the characters he has played. Olivier, whose marriage to Vivien Leigh collapsed under her legendary alcoholism and infidelities, once said, "I sometimes have thought that my life was as cursed as some of the characters I played, for after every success I've had, something has come along to muck things up.'

Produced by The Great Performances Alliance: WNET, KERA, KQED, South Carolina ETV, and WITW. Funded by The Exxon Corporation, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), CPB, and PTV Stations.



Nature

"AND THEN THE RAINS CAME." October 20, 8 p.m.*

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

The critically acclaimed Nature series is back this fall for its fourth season. With stunning wildlife photography and informative narration, the natural world is explored in what has become the most watched regular series on public television. This season Nature presents 20 new one-hour programs as well as encore presentations from popular shows of past seasons. The series is hosted and narrated by George Page, who is also in charge of production for WNET.

The season's premiere, "And Then the Rains Came," takes a look at how the animals of Kenya's Tsavo plain survive nature's roller coaster of floods and droughts. The show begins with shots of plains barren from drought; then the rains come and thousands of creatures emerge from underground. But the cycle keeps repeating itself, and the earth returns to its dry and

Presented by WNET. Funded by PTV Stations and the American Gas Association.



PENN & TELLER GO PUBLIC, a half-hour special, October 23, 9 p.m.*

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

A magic show for people who hate magic shows. That's one way to describe this zany new addition to the PBS fall lineup. The "Penn & Teller" show is currently playing to sell-out crowds on off-Broadway. And for a good reason: their magic tricks are not of the usual variety. During the half-hour shows-in front a live audi--you'll see card tricks that are explained, an escape from a straitjacket, and fire-eating, all accompanied by a running commentary from the bad boys of magic.

Produced by KCET. Funded by PTV Stations.

Mystery!

"DEATH OF AN EXPERT WITNESS," a six-part adaptation of the P. D. James mystery, begins October 24 at 9 p.m.*

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

With shrieks, shadows, shots in the dark, "Death of an Expert Witness" opens the new season of Mystery! with a start. Hoggatt's is the setting, a forensic science lab-oratory in England's flat and misty Fen country, where crimes have a way of being committed as well being solved. One body, then two, then three are offered up. The laboratory's scientists can construct a killer from a single strand of hair, but what can they do when there, crumpled up in a corner of the room, is the body of the expert witness?

James's gentlemanly detective, Adam Dalgliesh (played by Roy Marsden), is what the British press call "a thinking man's copper"-an urbane fellow from Scotland Yard who does his sleuthing in a very civilized manner. He puts things right, of course, but not before poking his way through a pack of suspects and discovering an equal number of guilty secrets involving jealousy, desperation, revenge, blackmail, and secretive love.

Filmed entirely on location in Norfolk and the remote East Anglian fens, "Death of an Expert Witness" is the first P. D. James thriller adapted for television.

And also coming up on Mystery!
—"My Cousin Rachel," a remake of the classic Du Maurier tale about a young widow suspected of murdering her husband. Geraldine Chaplin stars as the cursed countess in this four-part presentation beginning December 5.* The cast includes Christopher Guard as Philip, Charles Kay (from "The Woman in White") as Ramaldi, and John Shrapnel as Ambrose Ashlev.

From the harsh beauty of Cornwall, it's back to London and Baker Street for six more episodes of the "Adventures of Sherlock Holmes." Jeremy Brett returns as Holmes and David Burke as Watson in the latest dramatization of Arthur Conan Doyle's puzzlers. Fans can look forward to "The Copper Beeches," "The Greek Interpreter," "The Norwood Builder," "The Resident Patient," "The Red-Headed League," and "The Final Problem," beginning January 2.*

Agatha Christie's Miss Marple toddles into view February 13* with the three-part "The Body in the Library," followed by 'The Moving Finger" in two episodes, beginning on March 6*

On March 20 in "Charters and Caldicott," comfortable old Caldicott-taken up with Club, colonies, and cricket-finds the body of a young woman in his apartment. The two eccentric Englishmen (first seen in Alfred Hitchcock's "The Lady Vanishes") spend the next three episodes finding out who done it.

Mystery! ends its season with five new stories in "Agatha Christie's Partners in Crime," starting May 1.* Set in the Jazz Age of the twenties, the series brings back Francesca Annis and James Warwick as amateur detectives Tuppence and Tommy Beresford.

Presented by WGBH. Funded by Mobil Corp

Rive "A RI DODU "THE CROS "CHECK Six w along ways won te

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY, a one-hour special, October 28, 9 p.m.*
*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

America's most famous lady reaches her 200th birthday next year, and to celebrate, a one-hour documentary. "The Statue of Liberty," will air on public television. Produced and directed by Ken Burns, whose film on the Brooklyn Bridge was nominated for an Academy Award, it traces the bistory of the statue and includes interviews with Mario Cuomo, James Baldwin, Ray Charles, Jerzy Kosinski, and poet Caroline Porshe.

Owl/TV

A weekly series of ten half-hour programs, beginning November 3, 5 p.m.*

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

OWI/TV joins Sesame Street, Mister Rogers' Neighborhood, and 3-2-1 Contact as part of PBS's programs for kids this fall. In this new series, children learn that the the environment is more than bees, birds, and butterflies. "It might be the bedroom—making costumes out of junk. We need to broaden the word environment," says coproducer Annabel Slaight. "In OWI, we have kids making pizza, building a fort. Kids think of their room, their city block as their environment."

But OWL/TV doesn't confine itself to the backyard. Most appropriately, they visit the owl lady, a charming champion of screech owls, burrowing owls, great horned owls and, indeed, any owl which has fallen on hard times. As the rescued birds munch their mice, the owl lady pops three abandoned baby owls into a strange nest: "Thank goodness owls can't count. She doesn't know that only three are hers. She thinks all six are."

An imaginative approach to the world around us, OWL/TV is being coproduced by Canada's Young Naturalist Foundation and the National Audubon Society, which plans to form Audubon Youth Clubs across the country to give young viewers a chance to become actively involved in nature and science projects. At the same time, the Young Naturalist Foundation will begin publishing its children's magazine, OWL, in the United States. "The magazine, while not duplicating the TV show, will tie in with it," says Annabel Slaight, founding editor of the magazine

Produced by The National Audubon Society and the Young Naturalists Foundation. Presented by WNET.

and coproducer of the show.

River Journeys

"A RIVER JOURNEY BY CHRISTINA DODWELL," November 6, 8 p.m.* "THE MEKONG WITH WILLIAM SHAW-CROSS," November 13, 8 p.m.*

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

Six writers take six different journeys along some of the world's major waterways in "River Journeys." The program won the British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award for best factual series of 1984.

"A River Journey by Christina Dodwell" starts off the series. Dodwell has spent the last ten years exploring the world on horseback and in dugout canoe. She knew about the Waghi River (called the Eater of Men in New Guinea) from an earlier trip and she chose it for her river journey, in company with a team of whitewater rafters.

The banks of the river harbor an exotic world where young boys entering manhood have their skin scored to resemble the scales of a crocodile and where the shriveled bodies of ancestors, smoked over a wood fire until they are as brown and leathery as a tobacco leaf, are hoisted up into baskets to guard the villagers. The native river people are fascinated as they watch the crew pump up the rubber rafts and set off down the deadly river. There are waves that are 20 feet high and black holes where man and raft disappear in a vortex of water. In the end, the river wins. Dodwell, who had never done white-water rafting before, admits to being frightened at first: "Fear can give you a tremendous boost, a surge of adrenalin, but in general it doesn't help at all."

"River Journeys" will air "The Mekong with William Shawcross" as the season's second program. Journalist William Shawcross's journey up the Mekong River, which runs from Tibet through southeast Asia, is as much history lesson as travelogue. The communist officials who arrange his trip announce lyrically that the Mekong is a "river of solidarity." But, says Shawcross, author of Sideshow (about American involvement in Cambodia),

"The Mekong divides rather than unites the region." Like a pebble skipped across the water, he must hop his way upstream, frequently forced by warring governments to abandon the river and fly on to his next stop. The lives of a peasant people drying rice by the roadside or tethering their goats to the roof of a boat to ferry them to market are viewed against the scenes of recent war—the hulk of a bombed patrol boat juts from the river and Shawcross meets the man who planted the explosive. There is a crippled baby brought out for the cameras, its deformed foot, the communist officials say, the result of defoliants used by the American forces. When Shawcross learns the little boy, who is crying and begging to go home, has been produced seven times for seven film crews, he becomes so upset that he apologizes over and over and finally shouts at the father to take the baby home and keep him there.

Shawcross says that, at first, "traveling in a cocoon of officialdom, I felt as isolated from the Vietnamese as the Americans must have felt—and the French before them." Shawcross, however, is a hard man to isolate. He breaks out time and again to interview the ordinary people of southeast Asia whose lives have so often been disrupted by war.

Presented by WETA. Funded by PTV Stations.



Christina Dodwell stars in "A River Journey . . ."

MYSTERY presents Daphne du Maurier's

Starring Geraldine Chaplin To most men she was an angel—of death A four-part series begins Thursday, December 5 at 9 PM on PBS Check local listings Host: Vincent Price closed captioned for hearing impaired viewers

Mobil

DESIGN/ILLUSTRATION: PAUL DAVIS STUDIO @ 1985 MOBIL CORPORATION

IGN/ILLUSTRATION: PAUL DAVIS STUDIO @ 1985 MOBIL CORPORATION

MYSTERTIPRESENTS

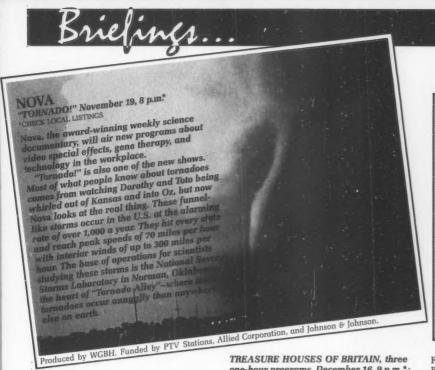
So clever they to elementary Land Hurke as watson

A six-port series begins
Thursday, January 2 at 9 PM on PRS
Thursday, January 12 at 9 PM on PRS Jeremy Brett of Sherlock Polity Brief of Markon Check local listings Luck local names

Mobil

SERIES II

Clased captioned for hearing impaired viewers. The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes, published by Dell books, available in local bookstores.



CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, a special 90-minute program, November 20, 9 p.m.*

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

"Every single atom in your body was once within a star"-host Timothy Ferris quotes an astronomer in "The Creation of the Universe," a program that can put a bad day at the office in perspective, reaching back, as it does, 15 billion years to the Big Bang. With five Nobel Laureates on its advisory panel and only one mathematical formula in 90 minutes, "Creation" not only makes quarks, neutrons, and protons as familiar as E.T., but also follows physicists in their search for a Unified Field Theory. This universal formula would account, says Ferris, "for every fundamental process in nature, from the jostling of atoms to the wheeling of the galaxy." Brian Eno wrote the music that accompanies Ferris as he makes his way back through time searching for the secret of the universe.

Produced by Northstar Associates. Funded by Texas Instruments.

COMET HALLEY, a one-hour special, November 26, 9 p.m.*

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

In 1705 Edmond Halley predicted that the comet later named for him would reappear in 1758. By calculating the orbit of the comet, he moved those bright and mysterious balls from the area of folklore into science. "Comet Halley" will reappear in 1986 and is the subject of a one-hour documentary. The executive producer, John Wilhelm, is a former science correspondent for Time and a former senior editor of Science 80.

Produced by John L. Wilhelm, WETA, and Japan's Asahi Broadcasting Corp. Funded by M&M/Mars Inc., the CPB, Asahi Broadcasting Corp., and the Planetary Society.

TREASURE HOUSES OF BRITAIN, three one-hour programs, December 16, 9 p.m.*; December 23, 10 p.m.*; December 30, 9 p.m.*

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

When you look out on your lawn and sigh at the sight of all those leaves waiting to be raked, think of the poor Duke of Buccleuch with three houses and 300,000 acres, all in need of tending. There are, of course, compensations to being the master of Drumlanrig Castle and Bowhill in Scotland and Boughton House in England: the only privately owned Leonardo da Vinci dwells there, for instance, and 45 Van Dyke miniature portraits hang in a single room. The fine art and fine furniture is so impressive that, according to Nancy Mitford, the curator of the Louvre once apologized to the late Duke that the Louvre's

One of the transure houses of Britain



And for those caught up with the talkshow biz, there are the following:

The MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour, airing weekdays, is now in its third season covering major news stories with a blend of interviews and discussions, documentary reports and special features.

Washington Week in Review wraps it all up at the end of the week, Fridays at 8 p.m.* Paul Duke and a panel of journalists discuss the issues that dominate the front nages.

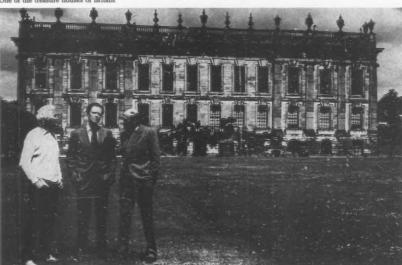
In Wall Street Week Louis Rukeyser, the only man on TV with his own elves, takes stock of the stocks after taking stock of the news. On Fridays, 8:30 p.m.*

Each week on Firing Line that inimitable conservative William Buckley puts a guest to a battle over current events.

*CHECK LOCAL LISTINGS

French furniture was not as good as the Buccleuchs'. With the National Gallery of Art opening "The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting" on November 3, and Prince Charles and Princess Diana arriving on November 8, PBS checks in with "Treasure Houses of Britain," three onehour programs strolling through the stately homes from Tudor times to the Victorian era, when newly rich industrialists settled themselves into ersatz castles. The beautiful objects are coupled with good gossip, as when the program explores the caves at West Wycombe where Sir Francis Dashwood and his fellow members of The Hell Fire Club got up to some very naughty things indeed.

Presented by WETA. Funded in part by the Ford Motor Company.



Mobil Masterpiece Theatre presents

LORD MOUNTBATTEN THE LAST VICEROY



Some called it betrayal-Others, his finest hour

A six-part series starring Nicol Williamson Janet Suzman

Begins Sunday 9PM January 26 on PBS Check local listings Host: Alistair Cooke

Mobil



brokers make their money from volume, not whether a stock is selling high or low," says Anthony Hoffman, an independent New York media consultant. "So they just want movement." And there are the investment bankers, who arrange financing and advise on the transactions. E. F. Hutton & Company, which served as Turner's adviser in the CBS deal, stood to gain more than \$50 million in fees if Turner had succeeded, according to an account in *The Wall Street Journal*. Even as it was, according to the *Journal*, Hutton received \$4.5 million to engineer the offer.

Some players in the media acquisition game appear to have other than purely economic motives. Andrew J. Schwartzman, executive director of the Media Access Project, a Washington public interest law firm, says that power has been a factor too. "If you look at some of the people involved — Turner, Murdoch — you see people who are interested in power," he says. "They want something much more than their names in the society columns."

nd then there is the element of political motivation. Early this year, Fairness in Media, a group allied with North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, began to advocate the purchase of CBS stock in order to force changes in the network's perceived liberal bias. (See "Helms & Co.: Plotting to Unseat Dan Rather," CJR, July/August.) Other incidents, too, such as a bid for Multimedia by an investment partnership founded by conservative William E. Simon, and the unwillingness until April of CIA head William J. Casey to put his Capital Cities stock into a trust — through a period when the CIA was challenging ABC's coverage of the agency in an action before the FCC — all raise the specter of attempts to manipulate or intimidate the media.

Simon, whose Wesray Corporation last year arranged the leveraged buyout of Forward Communications, owners of six television stations and other broadcast properties, dismisses such suggestions out of hand. "I wanted to take the company private and they weren't interested," he says of his Multimedia bid.

Concentration — 'the American way'

There are other, more tangible reasons for the current mediabuying spree than power or politics. These relate to the history of the media industry and to general currents within the financial community. The trend to corporatization in the media began at least two decades ago, spurred by a growing national advertising market and following patterns set elsewhere in the economy. "Like it or not, concentration is the American way," observes John Morton, a stock analyst with Lynch Jones & Ryan.

According to Ben Bagdikian, dean of the University of California's Graduate School of Journalism at Berkeley, who has written extensively on the subject of media concentration, by the early 1980s consolidation was far advanced, with cross-ownership of different types of media the rule rather than the exception. Bagdikian has calculated that at that time twenty corporations controlled more than one-half the newspaper circulation in the country, twenty more than half the magazine revenues, and about a dozen the lion's share of television and radio.

Meanwhile, with advertising outlays increasing faster than the GNP, these have been flush times for media owners. Income of the companies in Standard & Poor's index of radio-TV stocks rose 40 percent between 1980 and 1984, while the comparable figure for companies in the Standard & Poor's newspaper index was 63 percent. These increases



compared with a gain of only 12 percent for all the companies in the Standard & Poor's index of 400 industrial stocks. "These are excellent businesses," says Jeffrey E. Epstein, an investment banker at First Boston Corporation. He adds that, among other attributes, "they are often monopolies or oligopolies, with a tremendous ability to raise prices," and "unlike the auto and oil industries, they're not dependent on outside factors over which they have no control."

The current spate of broadcast sales is seen as likely to play itself out by the middle of next year, as the gap narrows between what potential investors see as the true value of publicly traded companies and what the companies' stock is selling for. By sometime in 1986, too, many major television-station owners will probably have reached a new FCC ceiling on ownership put into effect in April. The ceiling now permits a single owner to own up to twelve TV stations, as compared with seven in the past, with a limit of reaching 25 percent of American homes with television sets. (New, higher limits on the number of AM and FM radio stations a single owner can hold also went into effect in late 1984.)

Once all the big-market and much-sought-after Sunbelt stations have been looked over, the experts say, interest will shift to smaller stations in less attractive markets until everyone is satisfied that he's got all he can for what he's willing to spend. Radio and cable prices are being pushed up by some of the same factors affecting television-station prices. In some cases, owners may be interested in selling currently held properties in order to buy TV stations instead.

On the print side, the experts generally agree, while there is some spill-over from broadcast in terms of excitement, prices, and glamour in the form of purchases of such entities as *The New Yorker* and *The Des Moines Register*, sales will continue to follow the small-to-large, family-to-chain pattern of the last twenty years. Surprise raids will be rare, it is thought, since most major print organizations have adopted anti-takeover measures.

Trying to keep outsiders out

These measures, adopted by a number of both broadcast and print firms, range from going private to stock buy-backs to introduction of voting rights that give current owners a disproportionate share of power. When a firm goes private, as Harte-Hanks and Metromedia have done, their stock ceases to be traded on a stock exchange and is held instead by one or more owners. In a stock buy-back a company purchases a substantial amount of its own stock from interested shareholders, making it more difficult for a potential raider to accumulate enough stock or to enlist enough unhappy stockholder allies to mount a takeover attempt. Among companies that have already gone this route are the Washington Post Company, CBS Inc., and Knight-Ridder Newspapers, Inc.

The adoption of anti-takeover measures has frequently been accompanied by solemn pronouncements about the need to protect the public interest. Gannett chairman Allen H. Neuharth told stockholders at this year's annual meeting that in approving anti-takeover devices, "You have said that you want your representatives, your directors, to be people who will preserve the pure philosophies and policies that have made Gannett so successful for so long...."

ow Jones struck a similar note in opposing a stock-holder suit challenging the imposition of anti-take-over measures. In response to contentions in the suit that the move harmed the prospects of minority share-holders, the company explained that the purpose of the proposals was to maintain the company's "reputation for forthrightness, candor, integrity, and independence," which it argued "is the most important prerequisite for its continued success."

George Stringer, the Long Island stockbroker who organized the suit, rejects the Dow Jones rationale. "All companies have to be concerned with the public interest," says Stringer. "The media companies want it both ways. They want the marketplace to bid up their stock and they want special protections" from marketplace competition. He adds, "If you go into an elevator and rip off someone's necklace, you go to the slammer. But these people are highway robbers and they're getting away with it."

Heads of media companies have not always opposed takeovers by outsiders. In 1966, ITT made a friendly bid for ABC that was approved by the FCC but opposed by the Justice Department and by many in Congress. Nicholas Johnson, then an FCC commissioner, expressed concern about possible conflicts of interest, in the light of ITT's substantial foreign and defense business. But ABC president Leonard Goldenson said, "We believe the merger will make it possible for ABC, in the public interest, to bring to the people of the nation the best of programming in entertainment, in sports, and in news and public information." Some months later, a reporter testified that ITT had improperly tried to influence her coverage of the merger negotiations.

One issue involving current media sales on which there is some difference of opinion is the question of whether there is any significant increase in the number of nonmedia companies interested in acquiring media properties. Independent consultant Anthony Hoffman says he thinks not, because in his opinion outsiders don't understand how such high prices can be justified, especially for broadcast companies that have little in the way of tangible assets. John Morton of Lynch Jones & Ryan, on the other hand, says he sees more nonmedia organizations expressing interest all the time. And, he says, such interest alarms him. "I've had some frightening conversations with bankers," he says. "Their mental cast is, if there isn't enough profit, cut the editorial staff in half."

What the FCC and T. Boone Pickens have in common

One major element in the new-found interest in the media has been the deregulation activity of the Federal Communications Commission. Since the Reagan administration came into power, the FCC not only has voted to permit greater concentration of ownership but also has speeded up its processing of requests for license transfers. Speed is important to investors who don't want to tie up large amounts of money while waiting for a decision regarding their fitness as licensees.

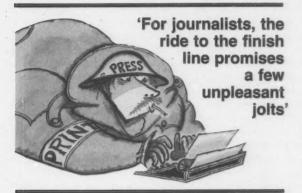
Coniston Partners' Keith Gollust regards the new climate at the FCC as a key factor in his firm's decision to try to gain control of Storer. "If it hadn't been for the FCC's public posture — that they weren't there to act as a shield for the industry — we wouldn't have done what we did," Gollust says.

Bruce E. Fein, former general counsel of the FCC and now a senior vice-president of Gray and Company, where he acts as a consultant on international telecommunications issues, is a strong supporter of deregulation. "Broadcasters operate in one of the least concentrated industries in the country," says Fein, who is also an adjunct scholar at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, a leading conservative think tank. Arguing in favor of unfettered competition for broadcast properties, he says, "There are thousands of stations available and, if anything, a glut of voices. Everything worth saying gets said one way or another." To Fein, the idea that concentration is bad is "misguided." He says, "Media companies should be foremost in checking government and small companies don't have the sophistication or resources to do that."

As for passing on the fitness of licensees or on what should be required by way of programming, Fein says, "The FCC has no role in and is incompetent to play a role in judging qualifications of anyone to run a broadcast station and to decide what the public wants. The marketplace is a far better determiner than you or me or government."

John Dingell, a Michigan Democrat who is chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, takes a very different view of the FCC's role. Dingell, who has been active in oversight of the communications industry for more than twenty-five years, argues that the commission's reason for existence hasn't changed at all during that time because, although technology may have increased the availability of opportunities, each licensee monopolizes a specific portion of the broadcast spectrum. "Broadcast companies are licensed to function in the public interest," Dingell says. "That's what's required in exchange for being permitted to make enormous sums of money."

Calling the current FCC a "slovenly, inept, and inattentive watchdog" — and, in Dingell's opinion, in that regard not a lot different than it has ever been — Dingell vows to keep pressure on the commission to take a more active role in supervising license transfers. However, despite both House and Senate hearings on FCC policy and on the media



takeover phenomenon, Dingell says that Congress is still at the inquiry level with regard to deciding whether any new legislation is required.

Former FCC commissioner Nicholas Johnson says his major concern remains not so much who owns a particular company as the concentration of power. "The problems are still the same as in Thomas Jefferson's day," says Johnson, who now teaches and writes a syndicated column. "The key question the FCC needs to ask in every case is what a given move will do for the diversity of views."

If the recent spate of buying and selling activity in the media industry owes something to the actions of the FCC, it probably owes just as much to the derring-do of T. Boone Pickens, Jr., chairman of Mesa Petroleum Company. Pickens, who has led raids on several companies, champions the strategy of seeking undervaluation. One generally accepted notion on Wall Street is that for the last decade or so most public companies have been trading below the true value of their assets. What that means is that someone could buy all of a company's stock and sell off its assets for more than he had paid for the company. Once Pickens got the ball rolling, investors started looking at other industries.

Pickens was aided by an increase in the availability of financing for takeover bids and leveraged buyouts. "Everybody is into overachievement, looking for any edge," says independent consultant Anthony Hoffman. In that context, bankers seeking a replacement for the third world debt market and managers of large institutional funds looking for investments that will help them do slightly better than their competitors all have contributed to the current atmosphere in which almost any deal seems possible.

The type of financing that has most caught the imagination of Wall Street and of the public, though in fact it has not been very widely used in actually consummated media deals, is so-called junk bonds. These bonds have been heavily used for only a few years. Ted Turner proposed to use junk bonds to buy CBS; Metromedia used them to go private in a leveraged buyout in 1984. How they work, in brief, is that a takeover bidder generally offers some cash and a lot of high-interest bonds in exchange for a company's stock. (A bond pays interest for a given length of time, after which the full value must be returned to the buyer.) The buyer's ability to pay off the bonds is posited on his ability to generate ample cash out of the acquired company — generally by selling off some or all of its assets.

So far, junk bonds appear to have had a relatively good track record. What remains to be seen is what happens when the economy, and significant numbers of companies bought with junk bonds, falter. Even with business booming, Metromedia was thought to have been unable to pay what it owed on its junk bonds before Murdoch purchased it this year. "We haven't seen the comeuppance," says Roger Miller, an investment banker at Salomon Brothers. Referring both to junk-bond financing and to the media merger and acquisition craze, Miller says, "The trouble with capital markets is that everything goes to excess. The pendulum always swings too far."

Miller is not alone in thinking that the media-buying spree may be getting out of hand. "The market is overheated and excessive prices are being paid," says William M. Agee, the former chairman of the Bendix Corporation and now a member of the Dow Jones board. "When prices get as high as some have been lately it suggests an element of fad." And, he says, the high prices will eventually put an end to the buying activity.

few unpleasant jolts, such as the CBS early-retirement program and layoffs at both CBS and ABC. The current activity seems likely also to result in a growing perception of media companies as businesses, rather than as some kind of quasi-public trusts, with all that entails for many journalists' image of themselves as a breed set apart from the crass world of commerce. For those like the West Coast program director with memories of a simpler, less profit-oriented era, the changes are bound to be unsettling. But for those with personal experience of owners who view their companies as personal fiefs, or who have worked for big media corporations whose top executives never get nearer to a journalist than sharing an elevator, what's happening now will probably cause little change in their lives.

Twenty years from now, some historian may venture a guess as to whether the current merger and acquisition phase represents a marked change or only a blip on the media industry's spread sheets. Right now, however, possibly the most sobering thought on the whole merger and acquisition mania is voiced not by a historian or a journalist but by a seasoned Wall Streeter who has been heavily involved in merger activities. "Sometimes," he says, admitting in a candid private moment to doubts about the current strength of the whole American financial structure, "I wonder whether what we're all doing is just rearranging the deck chairs on the *Titanic*."

The 'cult beat'

The peculiar hazards of covering religious sects

by LESLIE BROWN

efore reporters Bill Zlatos and Jim Quinn of the Fort Wayne, Indiana, News-Sentinel began investigating the fundamentalist Faith Assembly sect, they took a deep look at their motives. The Faith Assembly — comprised of people as ordinary-looking as one's next door neighbor — was steeped in the basics of Christian theology. Zlatos, Quinn, and their editors knew that a hard-hitting investigation of the group could be perceived as a broadside assault on religion, deeply offensive to readers in a part of the country where religious beliefs run strong.

But the Faith Assembly deviated from most Christian groups in one critical way: members were taught that one mea-

Leslie Brown is a reporter for The Burlington Free Press in Vermont who has covered the Northeast Kingdom Community Church. sure of their faith was their willingness to look to God rather than doctors when seriously ill. It was one thing, Quinn and Zlatos and their editors decided, for adults to choose to pray rather than seek medical attention; it was another when they made that decision for children.

Thus, Zlatos says, the two men set off on a three-month investigation that steered clear of theological debates. And what they found, largely through the use of coroners' reports, was that the Faith Assembly's teachings had probably contributed to the deaths of fifty-two members, most of them children.

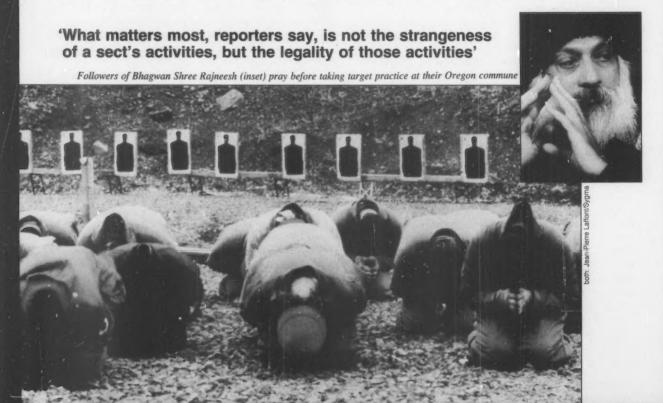
The News-Sentinel's approach—as well as what Zlatos called the "soulsearching" it demanded beforehand—is a classic example of how some reporters view their mission when attempting to investigate religious sects. What matters most, they say, is not the strangeness of a sect's activities, but the legality of those activities and their effect on children, few of whom are members by choice.

"There are a lot of things I run into with cults that are bizarre," says David

Mitchell, whose weekly *Point Reyes* Light in California won a Pulitzer Prize in 1978 for its coverage of Synanon, a drug-rehabilitation-center-turned-cult. "But that's not the point. It doesn't matter ultimately how they rationalize what they do. What matters is, 'How does this jibe with the law of the land?"

To a certain extent, reporters say, religious sects should be covered with the same seriousness and aggressiveness that good journalists bring to the coverage of a government agency. But religious groups are, obviously, very different from government agencies. Some are reclusive, some are disarming, some are skilled in dealing with the media, and some, as The News-Sentinel realized, share many of the religious sensibilities of the surrounding community. What special problems do religious sects pose for a reporter? And how does one get around those barriers? Just as religious sects vary widely, so do reporters' suggestions on how to cover them; but some common threads emerge from discussions with nearly a dozen reporters who have at one time or another been on the "cult beat."

One of the most serious barriers reporters may confront when dealing with a religious sect is a wall of silence. It



here is a dynamic and growing kind of public service activity on television these days. Network series programs and made-for-television movies are discussing serious social issues, such as alcoholism, drug abuse and teenage suicide. Now, high-quality dramas, like ABC's "Something About Amelia," on incest, or NBC's "The Burning Bed," about domestic violence, raise consciousness about problems. A few years ago, these sub-

iects would have been considered too sensitive for television's spotlight. Today these dramas provide a focal point for community outreach and social service programs, often in conjunction with local stations.

THE DRAMA OF SERVICE

An exciting example of public service occurs on the local level when a station mobilizes an intensive campaign concentrated on a specific community problem. Not often recognized nationally—because they are local—these campaigns yield measurable results. Here are just a few examples:

In Little Rock, Arkansas,
KATV-TV's campaign, "The Cancer
No One Talks About," alerted viewers
to the danger of colo-rectal cancer
before President Reagan's recent
illness drew national attention to
the problem. Over 125,000 free, inhome medical test kits were distributed by the station in conjunction
with a local hospital. As a result,
nearly 1,200 Little Rock residents saw
their doctors, and to date 17 have

had cancerous growths removed.

In Birmingham, Alabama, WBRC-TV waged an all-out campaign against drunk driving, with news programs, talk shows, and public service announcements carrying the message every day. There has been a substantial drop in traffic fatalities due to drunk driving in the area, with no deaths last New Year's Eve for the first time in memory. WBRC earned a citation from the Alabama Depart-

ment of Highway and Traffic Safety for its efforts. In Seattle. Washington. KOMO-TV has been airing public service announcements on children missing from home in the Seattle area. along with a telephone hotline num-

ber. To date, "Missing Kids" has helped to locate 26 children.

We often hear about the power of television, sometimes exaggerated, sometimes underplayed. But there is one aspect of television often overlooked: the power to help, to be part of the solution.

American Television and You





A spokesman for the Northeast Kingdom Community Church briefs the press at the church's headquarters in Island Pond, Vermont

'What many journalists fail to understand is how skilled some sects can be in deflecting hard questions'

is, of course, difficult to do a story on a group of people who refuse to talk to you. The Faith Assembly, for instance, aggressively resisted any press coverage, and for a while this strategy worked. "Other media shied away from this story because they couldn't get something in front of a camera," Zlatos recalls.

Tim Reiterman, a reporter with the San Francisco Examiner who covered the Reverend Jim Jones and the Peoples Temple, ran into the same wall. His requests to visit Jones at his Guyana commune and to interview him and his closest advisers were repeatedly denied, he says. And when Jones suddenly decided to consent to an interview, it was with an odd twist that Reiterman believes was deliberately manipulative: Jones, then in Guyana, called Reiterman out of the blue at his home one morning, catching Reiterman while he was still in bed.

But there are ways around that wall of silence, reporters say. One is to talk to defectors — people whom Michael D'Antonio, religion writer for Long Island's Newsday, likens to government officials willing to leak a story. Defectors, just like others who leak stories, have to be regarded warily, D'Antonio and others point out. They have their axes to grind; they are sometimes psychologically damaged from their exper-

iences in the sect. Still, they can provide invaluable information and offer leads a reporter needs for an investigation.

When sect members won't talk, documents may tell part of the story. David Mitchell of the *Point Reyes Light* notes that, because religious sects often break up families, they also often spur lawsuits. Those suits, he adds, can provide key information — a sect's size, for instance, or names of members.

Zlatos and Quinn found a wealth of detail in the coroners' reports they studied. The Faith Assembly was already stirring questions in northern Indiana, and some coroners, aware of those questions, included telling bits of information. One report, for instance, told of a young girl having bitten through her tongue during an epileptic seizure. "It enabled us to paint a picture of what the death scene was like," Zlatos says.

Secretly infiltrating a group — a method especially popular with reporters covering the Reverend Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church a few years ago — is another option. It can be very dangerous and it raises ethical questions. But it can also be an extremely effective technique when others fail.

In 1981, Dennis Riggs, a reporter for KMOX-TV in St. Louis, launched an investigation into the paramilitary, neo-Nazi group the Covenant, the Sword,

and the Arm of the Lord. Because mem-

bers of the sect, which is based in the Ozark mountains on the Arkansas-Missouri border, refused to talk to Riggs, his station decided to send a producer to the group's 'national convocation.' There, mingling with members of paramilitary organizations from around the country, he attended training sessions on guerrilla warfare, learned how to build a bomb, and gathered an armload of revealing literature. But the risks were very high. 'If our man had been found out, he might not be here now,' Riggs says.

Getting members of a sect to talk is not invariably a problem. Some groups, in fact, will speak freely to reporters. What doesn't always come easily are straight answers to basic questions. Some groups portray themselves as simple, gentle people — the children of God; and some are indeed simple. But what many journalists fail to understand is how skilled some sects can be in deflecting hard questions.

"Most cults that are of any size are much more sophisticated than most of us realize," Mitchell says. "We ought to listen to the appointed spokesman of a cult with the same skepticism with which we listen to a Ford Company spokesman talk about the Ford Pinto."

Reiterman of the San Francisco Examiner agrees with Mitchell that religious sects often grossly exaggerate their size and, thus, their political and religious clout. Reiterman points out that the Peoples Temple, for instance, claimed 250,000 members nationwide and boasted of having a voting block of 8,000 members in San Francisco. Through reports from defectors and from mailing lists that these defectors provided, however, Reiterman and his colleagues estimated the group's total membership at 3,500.

An indication of the sophistication of some sects is the bank of lawyers and paralegals they employ, Mitchell notes, pointing out that Synanon, a group perhaps best known for having placed a rattlesnake in a mailbox in an attempt to kill an attorney, at one time had a legal staff of forty-eight people. Mitchell, who wrote a book about Synanon, has had six suits filed against him by the group, demanding a total of more than \$1 billion in damages.

Last summer, The Oregonian in Port-

MOLLIE PARNIS LIVINGSTON

Chairman

Mollie Parnis Livingston Foundation

KEN AULETTA

Writer Vew Yorker

Columnist Yew York Dally Yeas

DAVID BRINKLEY

Correspondent ABC Yens

JOHN CHANCELLOR

Commentator **NBC Yews**

RICHARD M. CLURMAN

Former Chief of Correspondents Time-Life Publications

CHARLOTTE CURTIS

Associate Editor **New York Times**

WILLIAM K. FRIEDMAN

Founding Publisher illinois Times

GENE ROBERTS

Executive Editor Philadelphia *Inquirer*

MIKE WALLACE

Correspondent CRS Yours

THREE \$5,000 PRIZES

FOR YOUNG RINT AND BROADCAST

JOURNALISTS

will be given by the Mollie Parnis Livingston Foundation for the best 1985 print or broadcast coverage of local, national and international news by journalists aged 34 in any U.S. medium. PURPOSE: To recognize

and further develop the abilities of young journalists.

PROCEDURE: All entries will be judged on the basis of a single report or, in the case of series, up to seven reports. Organizations may apply for individuals, or individuals may apply on their own. The deadline for 1985 entries is February 15, 1986. Application forms may be obtained from Charles R. Eisendrath, Executive Awards Director, The Livingston Awards, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109. Telephone: (313) 764-0420.

Livingstor



land ran a twenty-part series on Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh and his followers, the Rajneeshees. On their attorney's advice, the three reporters who wrote the series declined to discuss it with CJR. For at least a year, or until the statute of limitations expires, the reporters have been advised to remain silent out of regard for the Rajneeshees' reputation for litigiousness.

ect members often try to engage reporters in theological debate. This was one of the problems faced by Michael D'Antonio of Newsday when he recently spent three days with the Northeast Kingdom Community Church in an isolated area of northern Vermont. The sect, which proselytizes almost reflexively, had been the target last year of a controversial police raid that followed allegations of child abuse (see "Emotional Issue in Vermont," CJR, September/October 1984). But when D'Antonio asked about their children, some sect members answered by quoting Bible verses and, at one point, began preaching to him about his soul. D'Antonio handled the situation by reminding them that he hadn't come to Vermont to hear sermons and that "my salvation is not the issue." "You have to be honest and not take it," he adds. "And you have to make sure they know you're a reporter."

D'Antonio tried to establish ground rules with church members. For instance, he warned that he would check out whatever they told him; if a member spoke of an alcoholic father, D'Antonio told them, he would call up the family for verification. Staking out that professional ground, and reclaiming it when necessary, helped keep the situation under control, he says.

At the same time, D'Antonio argues that religious tolerance and a genuine curiosity about what a sect believes are essential. "I think reporters fail to understand how important religion is in people's daily lives," he says. "I try to learn something from these people. You really have to be sincere and not judgmental. Telling them you want to know about their beliefs and being sincere in your interest is a good way to win their respect. I think being curious is important. Understanding something about religion is important."

John Donnelly, who wrote a five-part series on the Northeast Kingdom Community Church while a reporter with *The Burlington Free Press*, says he felt his major stumbling block while investigating the sect was how little he knew about the Bible and organized religion. Without that background, he says, it was often difficult to place what church members said in a broader context and to understand their movement from a religious and sociological point of view.

D'Antonio, Zlatos, and Reiterman all urge reporters to omit the word "cult" from their stories on religious sects, no matter how cult-like a group may appear. Reiterman points out that Jim Jones's Peoples Temple became, in Guyana, the ultimate cult, yet he and his colleagues steered clear of that valueladen term. In part they did so because the Peoples Temple was a church in a mainline Christian denomination, and in part because it was a political organization.

"I think when you're dealing with adults, the line between religion and cult is sometimes hard to discern," *Newsday*'s D'Antonio says, adding that, in any case, use of the word "cult" may place a reporter in libelous territory.

The Vermont attorney general, referring to the sect in northern Vermont, told D'Antonio he didn't care if the group worshipped cats as long as its members obeyed state law. Reporters, D'Antonio says, would be wise to adopt a similar attitude.

Finally, reporters say a journalist covering a religious sect should be alert to both the physical and the psychological dangers this can entail. Sects are often located in isolated parts of the country. Unless part of a team, a reporter is usually out there alone. As John Donnelly, now an Associated Press reporter, wryly notes, "It's not pack journalism."

"You can go there, spend a day, and leave exhausted and depressed, feeling like all your basic values have been questioned," Donnelly adds. "As one person told me, insanity has a logic of its own and to step into that world can be overwhelming."

Dennis Riggs of KMOX-TV, who was told by ex-members that he was on the hit list of the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, learned to take precautions he had never considered be-

fore. For instance, as he and his cameraman were about to check into a hotel near the sect's base, they noted that its front wall was made of glass. They decided to pick another hotel, where they would be less visible targets for snipers.

Some of the emotional dangers that may lie in wait for a reporter undertaking to write about a religious sect are set forth in an article on the Northeast Kingdom Community Church published last year by New England Monthly. Its author, novelist and journalist Barbara Grizzuti Harrison, describes a diatribe in which an elder of the church "stared at me, unblinking (how do they do this?) for half an hour" while condemning her soul to "the Lake of Fire."

"I don't remember his words," Harrison writes. ". . . I remember what I felt — virulent hatred focused on me, the kind of hatred that is like an invasion of the body: I felt my heart being attacked." Three hours later, Harrison, suffering from chest pains, was admitted to a nearby hospital. (The pains proved to be psychosomatic.)

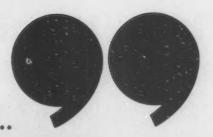
Incidents such as this can serve an important function for a reporter, as Donnelly, who had similarly unnerving confrontations with members of the Northeast Kingdom sect, points out. They provide a glimpse into the techniques that can draw (or terrify) people into joining such a sect — and the pressures that can keep them there.

ut, reporters generally agree, a sturdy psyche and the ability to maintain an emotional distance from the story are essential when covering such groups. During Reiterman's investigation of the Peoples Temple, about a hundred members picketed the San Francisco Examiner, and a number of Jones's high-powered friends called Reiterman to ask why he was taking on the church's popular and charismatic leader. "You doubt yourself, wonder if you haven't made some gigantic error," Reiterman says.

D'Antonio, who sees journalists as "generally impressionable people," says they must therefore be particularly alert to the subtle emotional dangers they are likely to encounter in covering sects. "People wouldn't join these groups if there wasn't something seductive about them," he says.



There is more than a comma's difference.





NBC NIGHTLY NEWS

"It's often said that there isn't a comma difference between the three network newscasts, but that's not true. In many ways NBC has become a more thoughtful and interesting network in its coverage. It often takes a different direction especially in its special reports. . . . The 'NBC Nightly News' often includes stories of more depth and significance. . . . Serious newswatchers come away with more substance."

'TODAY'

Tom Dorsey, Louisville Courier-Journal

"In Rome it managed to gain unusual access to an institution historically wary of news and television organizations."

AMERICAN ALMANAC

"An NBC winner. Mudd is his usual incisive self."

Lee Winfrey, Philadelphia Inquirer

PRIMETIME NEWS SPECIALS

"The First Lady . . . sensitive, delightful, sometimes moving."

Arthur Unger, Christian Science Monitor

"Portrait of the Press, Warts and All, by John Chancellor, marks the first time a network has probed the issue with decent objectivity."

Harriet Van Horne, Newsday

"Women, Work and Babies is a prime example of the new direction in NBC News. Solidly interesting . . . totally relevant."

Arthur Unger, Christian Science Monitor

"Vietnam—Lessons of a Lost War . . . if you see only one television news program make sure this is it."

NBC NEWS

John Corry, New York Times

"Its week-long exploration of the Soviet Union won the Edward Weintal prize for diplomatic reporting . . . NBC sent 'Today' to Rome for a week of broadcasts that were similarly admired. . . . And 'Nightly News' was the first American news program to carry BBC footage of the horrific famine in Ethiopia, a decision that generated enormous viewer reaction."

Eric Mink, Washington Journalism Review



The silencing of a southern voice

A requiem for Atlanta Weekly

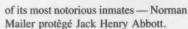
by STEVE ONEY

n the last Sunday in December, The Atlanta Journal and Constitution will publish what in effect will be the final issue of Atlanta Weekly, the nation's second oldest surviving newspaper magazine (only The New York Times Magazine is older). For nearly eight decades, the Weekly, which was founded in 1912 as The Atlanta Journal Magazine, has been an abiding southern voice, as much a part of Sundays below the Mason-Dixon line as baptisms by immersion and friedchicken dinners on church lawns. If for much of its existence the magazine. when read in conjunction with a Sabbath feast, could be guaranteed to bring on a long afternoon's nap, it didn't really matter to most of the newspapers' some 500,000 weekend subscribers. The publication was warm and reassuring. Its abundant color photographs showcased Dixie's beauty and beauties, and its folksy stories - celebrating everything from cane-bottom chairs to watermelonfestival queens to restored antebellum mansions - presented a vision of the good life down South.

Had Atlanta Weekly remained a somnolent if somewhat eccentric Sunday supplement, its demise would be merely sad. But during the past few years, the magazine - as a result of an infusion of money, talent, and more than a little heart - underwent a remarkable transformation. The comforting covers and pleasantly meandering articles gave way to crisp graphics, relevant pieces of journalism, and, from time to time, some genuinely exciting writing. Ultimately, the Weekly established itself as one of the three or four best locally produced newspaper magazines in the country. Hence its imminent death - like that of a person who has come into his own following a long struggle — is tragic. It is also senseless, but I will come to that in a moment.

First, let me tell you how the Weekly became a force to be reckoned with. In 1977, shortly after Jimmy Carter stepped into the White House and national attention focused on Georgia, things started to stir at what was then called The Atlanta Journal & Constitution Magazine. Initially, most of the changes at the publication were predictable: new typefaces were ordered; vounger writers (of whom I was one) were hired; older, experienced reporters were encouraged to undertake ambitious projects; and a series of consultants marched through the doors to confer with Andrew Sparks, the courtly editor whose civilized sensibilities had both graced and shackled the publication since the mid-1940s. The results of all this tinkering were mixed but generally positive. Yet there were still miles to go.

n 1979 the powers-that-be at the Atlanta newspapers decided to move ahead at supersonic speed. That summer, Nancy F. Smith, formerly managing editor of Texas Monthly, was appointed editor-in-chief of The Journal & Constitution Magazine. Almost immediately, she renamed, redesigned, and reinvigorated the publication without, however, damaging the magazine's essential southernness. Every page of the new Atlanta Weekly continued to reflect Dixie, only now the magazine acknowledged the complexities of life in the New South. Under Smith's aegis, the Weekly moved into heretofore forbidden territory. It published numerous articles on the downside of Atlanta's explosive building boom, important pieces on the South's emerging black political leaders, gritty investigations of crimes and murders, Robert Coles's cogitations on Flannery O'Connor, even a piece on the Atlanta penitentiary by one



anta Weekly

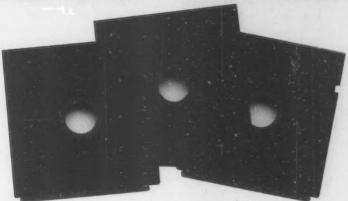
Moreover, at Smith's urging (and later at the urging of her successor, Lee Walburn, who took over the magazine in the fall of 1980), the Weekly started soliciting articles from the South's principal novelists and journalists, writers who in the past had rarely seen their work appear in their own backyard. Thus, on any given Sunday morning the magazine might feature a poem by Toni Cade Bambara about the terror rampant in black neighborhoods during the childmurder crisis, Roy Blount's musings on his Decatur High School class reunion, Pat Conroy's remembrances of a long season in Paris, Marshall Frady's verbal pyrotechnics on Billy Graham, William Hedgepeth's quirky observations on any number of topics, or Paul Hemphill's meditations on becoming a father at forty.

The sudden appearance of recognized authors in the Weekly made the magazine a beacon for promising but untried writers and photographers. In short, in less than a year's time Smith had created both a center of journalistic and creative energy and a real regional magazine that could hold its head high in any company. Her successes did not go unnoticed. In 1980 the Standard Gravure Corporation, printer of a majority of America's Sunday supplements and sponsor of the only national awards for such publications, singled out Atlanta Weekly for first-place honors in both magazine-article and magazine-cover competitions.

The inevitable question is, of course, did these editorial triumphs translate into monetary gain for Cox Enterprises, owner of the Atlanta newspapers? This is a hard one, for Sunday magazines — unlike periodicals sold on newsstands or by subscription — don't make their way in the real marketplace. But there are

Steve Oney, who worked at Atlanta Weekly from 1977 until 1982, is now a free-lance writer. His articles have appeared in Esquire and The New York Times Book Review, among other publications.

When it comes to references, we wrote the software.



The Sci-Mate* software system. For the professional who relies on information.

Now there's an easy-to-use software system that gets the job done from initial research to correctly referenced manuscripts. Each of the three Sci-Mate® components can work for you separately—but use them together as the most complete, most powerful tool available for those who create and use journal literature.

Here's how Sci-Mate® works to save you time:

The 'Searcher' finds your references.

This is the easiest way ever to access journal literature. Your micro-

computer, a modem, and Sci-Mate are all you need to search hundreds of online databases. No need to know computer languages because the Searcher speaks English.

The 'Manager' files your references.

Forget about index cards. Enter your references or capture them from online searches. Everything you enter—references, lab notes, addresses—is permanently stored and easy to find.

The 'Editor' writes your references.

This newest component of the Sci-Mate® Software System functions like an expert copy editor. The Editor formats your references to fit standard publication styles and renumbers references in your manuscript.

Alone or together, The Sci-Mate® components furnish the best references. For further information, write us or call toll free (U.S.A. only)

1-800-523-4092

Pennsylvania residents call 1-215-386-0100, EXT. 1418. We'll be glad to answer your questions.

312-3955 Q1985 ISI

isi

Institute for Scientific Information®
3501 Market Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104 U.S.A.
In the U.K.: 132 High Street
Uxbridge, Middlesex UB8 1DP
44-895-70016, Telex: 933693 UKISI



Before Rhett Butler: Margaret Mitchell, in 1922, interviews Georgia Tech students for The Atlanta Journal Magazine.

criteria for measuring a newspaper magazine's economic performance, and during the early 1980s most of these indicators suggested that Atlanta Weekly was going to be a winner: ad pages began increasing, while surveys indicated that "upscale" urban readers approved of the magazine's new look.

What set of circumstances, then, conspired to deliver a death blow to a publication that appeared to possess such immense promise? This is also a hard one. But leaving aside the foggy complexities, the simple truth boils down to this: the management of the Atlanta newspapers, which in 1982 underwent a thorough housecleaning, neither cared about Atlanta Weekly's long history and recent accomplishments nor understood its tremendous potential. The writing appeared on the wall when in 1983 and 1984 Cox executives permitted the Weekly's two primary advertisers -Rich's and Davison's, the South's preeminent department stores - to drastically reduce long-standing advertising commitments in favor of preprinted inserts. In essence, the newspapers' management chose to pursue the short-term benefits offered by such glossy flyers at the expense of the long-term health of the Weekly. Simultaneously, the newspapers' new publisher, David Easterly - a veteran of Cox's Dayton, Ohio, operation - superimposed an uninspired format upon the magazine, forcing its editors to abandon efforts to live up to the Journal's motto - "Covers Dixie Like the Dew" - in favor of standardized columns on fashion and national celebrities that are no more germane to life in Atlanta than to life in Anywhere, U.S.A.

I'll come right out and say it: Atlanta Weekly, for all intents and purposes, was economically eviscerated, then editorially lobotomized by the very people charged with protecting its well-being. Thus, it's little wonder that by late 1984 the magazine was losing money.

Against all odds, the Weekly endured. Although editor Lee Walburn was often working under great constraints, he nevertheless fashioned a publication that remained head and shoulders above all but a few American newspaper magazines. For several years he wrote a winning and literate column, which gave the magazine a common touch it had previously lacked. Later, he established a highly successful one-page department called "Southwords," which kept many of the region's best writers in the book. To reduce his budget, he helped institute several painless cost-cutting measures. Earlier this year, for example, Atlanta Weekly decreased the size of its pages while increasing the quality of its paper stock. This one simple alteration paid off: for much of 1985 the magazine actually broke even. But it was too little, too late.

n telling the story of the Weekly's rise and fall, my prejudices are quite apparent. I worked at the magazine for five years and I formed an enduring attachment to it. Yet my real sadness and anger arise not from any personal sense of loss but from the loss that I know the Weekly's demise will visit upon the South. As of Sunday, January 5, 1986, Atlanta will be without a local, general-interest newspaper magazine for the first time in seventy-four years. In the Weekly's place, Journal and Constitution readers will receive a customized version of Parade, the generic newspaper supplement. The publication will incorporate a vastly diminished rendition of Atlanta Weekly, which will be stapled into its center like a pull-out advertisement. Produced by a skeletal staff that will include no writers, photographers, or experienced journalists, the local insert will draw all its material from the newspapers' feature departments. The newspapers' publicists claim that this mere shadow of the Sunday magazine of old will preserve the Atlanta Weekly tradition - a line of argument that suggests the Defense Department's classic Vietnam-era utterance: "We had to destroy it to save it." No, when the independent Atlanta Weekly dies something irreplaceable will die with it — a weekly journal written by southerners for southerners.

This loss will become exceedingly clear as 1986 progresses, for it is a special year in Atlanta: the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *Gone with the Wind*. A huge celebration — including a gala banquet and screenings of David O. Selznick's classic movie of the novel — is being planned. By all rights, the festivities should include a tour of the magazine where Margaret Mitchell began her writing career: *Atlanta Weekly*. Sadly, that now won't be possible.

From 1922 until 1926, Peggy Mitchell, as she was then known, published 106 by-lined pieces in The Atlanta Journal Magazine. In some of her stories a profile of Rudolph Valentino, an essay praising bobbed hair — she limned the flapper decade. But most of Mitchell's articles foreshadowed her great book. She wrote a study of the travails facing southern plantation wives while their husbands were in Confederate gray that suggested the earnest sense of responsibility that would later motivate Melanie Wilkes; several articles on aristocratic weddings in which the rebellious voice of Scarlett O'Hara could be heard aborning; and a series on Georgia's Civil War generals that paid homage to a host of dashing figures reminiscent of Rhett Butler.

The management of the Atlanta newspapers is, of course, aware of the Weekly's most famous alumna. In the lobby of the newspapers' building in downtown Atlanta, a glass trophy case displays the scarred wooden desk at which Mitchell wrote while employed by the Sunday magazine. For anyone whose curiosity about Mitchell's early career is piqued by next year's revival, the exhibit will at least offer the opportunity to see the surface upon which she worked. What won't be visible are any shiny new desks in the Weekly's offices awaiting Atlanta's next Peggy Mitchell. A connective strand linking the Old South with the Sunbelt has been severed, and for a region as fascinating as the one that rose from the ashes of the land of cotton, that's a crying shame.

1985

Champion-Tuck Awards

The Champion-Tuck Awards are given to media professionals for outstanding rereporting that improves the public's understanding of business and economic issues.

The program embraces five areas: newspapers; magazines; local or syndicated columnists (including news and wire services); television; and radio. Entries may include documentaries, multipart series, regularly scheduled broadcasts, investigative reporting, short articles, and special programs.

A total of \$105,000 in cash prizes will be awarded. All entries must be accompanied by an official entry form and should be postmarked no later than January 15, 1986. Winners will be announced in May.

The Champion-Tuck Awards, now in its ninth year, is administered by The Amos Tuck School of Business Administration, Dartmouth College, and sponsored by Champion International Corporation.

Judges

Elie Abel Harry and Norman Chandler Professor of Communication Stanford University

Elizabeth E. Bailey Dean, Graduate School of Industrial Administration Carnegie-Mellon University

Julian Goodman Former Chairman and President NBC

Victor Gotbaum
Executive Director
District Council 37
American Federation of State,
County & Municipal Employees

Norman E. Isaacs Editor/Educator

J.A. Livingston Economics Columnist The Philadelphia Inquirer

Elmer Lower Former President ABC News

Ray Marshall

Bernard Rapoport Professor of Economics and Public Affairs Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs University of Texas at Austin Peter Bird Martin Editor-in-Chief South North News Service

Robert C. Maynard President, Publisher & Editor Oakland Tribune

Ancil H. Payne President King Broadcasting Co.

Jane Bryant Quinn Financial Columnist Newsweek

Richard S. Salant Former President CBS

S. William Scott Executive Vice President Group W Television Westinghouse Broadcasting and Cable, Inc.

Joseph Shoquist Managing Editor The Milwaukee Journal

James D. Squires Editor Chicago Tribune Leon H. Sullivan

Minister Zion Baptist Church Philadelphia



Director Champion-Tuck Awards The Amos Tuck School of Business Administration Dartmouth College Hanover, New Hampshire 03755 (603) 643-5596 Please send me more information.

Name

Organization

Street

City

State

Zij

Local TV: good news about hard news

by NANCY MADLIN

hen Westinghouse Broadcasting shut down its award-winning investigative team at KYW-TV in Philadelphia last year, critics of television news accepted it as one more piece of evidence that local television is not serious about news. As former I-team manager Tony Lame told The Philadelphia Inquirer: "TV news at the local level is still controlled by people whose interest lies more with game shows and selling commercials than in journalism."

This may be the case in many communities, but there are indications that at a surprising number of stations investigative reporting is alive and well—even flourishing. Since Westinghouse shut down its Philadelphia I-team in 1984, several new units have been started and the industry "granddads," five years or older, are not reporting any cutbacks in staff or stories produced. Management at some stations has decided that hard news is a good bet to outsell entertainment at 5, 6, and 10 P.M.

Typically, investigative units are hatched at stations that already have strong news programs and are in top-three ratings positions. "If the basic reporting isn't there, it makes no sense to start an investigative unit," comments Terry J. Connelly, vice-president for news at Taft Broadcasting in Cincinnati, a company which has I-teams at four of its twelve stations.

Local control seems to be an important element in keeping an I-team on the air. "Out-of-towners don't necessarily have the sense of community commitment necessary to run an investigative unit," observes J. Spencer Kinard, who has run an I-team for seven years as news director at KSL-TV in Salt Lake City, a station owned by the Mormon Church. "When you're looking at only the bottom line, investigative units are always an easy place to cut costs."

From a management point of view, of

course, there are plenty of good reasons not to have an I-team. It's an expensive proposition: even a small unit can cost \$100,000 a year, and a large unit five times as much. Then, too, setting up an investigative team raises the specter of legal problems and expensive legal counsel. ("I report to the news director," says one I-team manager, "and we all report to the lawyers.") And, once the investigative product gets on the air, it can create plenty of controversy, including a lot of negative reactions.

Undaunted by such considerations, some stations have decided that I-teams are the way to increase the strength of their news. At KPRC-TV, a locally owned station in Houston, former print reporters Rick Nelson and Joe Collum were hired in 1984 to start an investigative unit, backed up by a full-time researcher and cameraman. (Bob Franklin, executive producer for special projects and manager of KPRC's I-team, credits its creation to a convention sponsored by Investigative Reporters and Editors, a ten-year-old professional organization based in Columbia, Missouri, "I'd been dreaming about starting a team for twelve years," Franklin says, "but I

THE ELECTRONIC BEAT

never did anything about it until IRE, when Rick Nelson and I mapped out the whole thing on the back of a napkin at a bar.") The station can spend as much as \$5,000 per story in operation costs and \$200,000 a year in salaries to produce such investigative stories as "Stolen Dreams," about a local businessman who sold home improvements with a catch — the costs often ran higher than the value of the house, and when clients couldn't pay, the businessman would take over their houses in foreclosure proceedings.

KTUL-TV, an Allbritton station in Tulsa, Oklahoma, established its twoperson I-team in 1984, hiring investigative producer Jim Lyons away from KCRG in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. A recent report focused on the David Livingstone Missionary Foundation, a locally based charity group whose reported 88 percent overhead at one point allowed its founder to enjoy such luxuries as a Palm Beach condo and a Rolls-Royce.

Don Shelby, an award-winning investigative reporter and anchor at WCCO in Minneapolis/St. Paul, believes that local television news is at a crossroads. "News management and the audience are about to decide whether success and profitability means more entertainment or more journalism," he says. "And if we don't emphasize journalism, we are setting ourselves up for an accusation, and possible conviction, that we're doing the least we can to make the most money."

ut can't good journalism also be good business? Does better news generate better ratings? Newcomers and old-timers alike agree that, under the right conditions, I-teams can help increase audiences.

"Other stations don't give away audiences; you have to take them away," says Bob Franklin of KPRC in Houston. "And we're doing that with more news." Franklin reports that KPRC's ratings "are number two and gaining ground." When the I-team goes on the air, he says, the ratings go up. Far from shying away from controversy, KPRC is using it for promotion: when the subject of "Stolen Dreams" tried to obtain a restraining order and sued the station for \$100 million, the station ran a commercial spot featuring a slow pan over all the zeros in that figure. "We're so sure we're right," says Franklin, "we wanted to show it.'

"Our ratings for news are number one in the market," says Shelby of locally owned WCCO in Minneapolis. "And, yes, the I-team has contributed to that success." The station's unit was born five years ago, when Shelby convinced station management to give an investigative unit a trial run. After its first story,

Nancy Madlin is a free-lance writer who lives in New York.

TEN WAYS TO BAG AN ELEPHANT.

The hunt is on for the most prestigious prizes in the magazine world, the National Magazine Awards.

Established in 1966, the National Magazine Awards honor editorial excellence and encourage editorial vitality. These awards really carry weight because they're determined by the toughest judges of all-your peers.

The awards are sponsored by the American Society of Magazine Editors, administered by the Graduate School of Journalism of Columbia University and supported in part by the Magazine Publishers

Association.

In 1966 we presented a single award. Today there are thirteen awards in ten categories.

GENERAL EXCELLENCE.

Awarded in four circulation groups (under 100,000; 100,000 to 400,000; 400,000 to 1,000,000; over 1,000,000), General Excellence is determined by how well entries have achieved their stated editorial objectives.

PERSONAL SERVICE.

For articles on subjects that give practical guidance or assistance in dealing with the realities of everyday life; for example, education, finances, health, medical, psychological and emotional issues.



"Elephant" Stabile by Alexa Presented by the American Soc Magazine Editors

SPECIAL INTERESTS.

For articles on subjects that help readers learn about special interests they pursue at leisure, such as arts, crafts, fashion, food, hobbies, home, sports, travel.

REPORTING.

* Considerations in this category are: advancement of knowledge; enterprise, thoroughness and reliability in the reportage; style of writing.

PUBLIC INTEREST.

For articles having a demonstrable impact on an area involving the public interest, evidenced by significant letters to the editor, tear sheets of press coverage or legislative action.

DESIGN. O For the contribution a magazine's design has made to its editorial objectives and for the overall excellence of its physical presentation.

PHOTOGRAPHY.

For a magazine's excellent use of photography as a part of its editorial presentation.

FICTION. For three stories printed first in a magazine, the award is given in recognition of overall presentation of excellent fiction.

ESSAYS & CRITICISM.

For essays, construed to include a broad variety of personal nonfictional statements, such as personal reflection, commentary, criticism, editorial opinion, humor.

SINGLE-TOPIC ISSUE.

Where 50% of editorial content is devoted to a clearly labelled single topic, including special sections, anniversary and special issues sent to all subscribers.

Now that you've set your sights on an elephant, find out how to bring one home. Deadline for entries is January 15, 1986. Contact Robert E. Kenyon, Jr., (212) 752-0055, for details and entry forms.

Make this an elephant hunt you'll never forget.

© 1985. The American Society of Magazine Editors, The Professional Society of Ser

Magazine Editors.



on the failings of local housing inspectors, won a national Emmy for community service, the unit was established on a permanent basis. Today, it has a crew of six full-time employees and six interns, with reporters Shelby and Al Austin working independently on stories.

t KRON-TV in San Francisco, another consistent award-winner on the national news scene, an I-team was set up in 1981. Today, it has a staff of nine full-time producers, reporters, and photographers, with others from the staff often used on team projects. In 1984, KRON's Target 4 Unit produced nineteen investigative stories, including a local Emmy winner on a housing development planned for a hazardous area. (It was in a flood plain and downwind of chemical plants.) The lender for the developer subsequently halted the project's funding.

KRON is currently in what news director Mike Ferring describes as "a neck-and-neck race for number two" with competitor KGO, but it had previously been number three and Ferring believes that the I-team has played a part in the station's recent climb up the ratings ladder. "We've decided to take a high-road approach to building ratings by emphasizing good news coverage," Ferring says. "It's going to take us longer to build a big audience, but it'll be more valuable when we get it."

WTSP, a Taft station in Tampa/St. Petersburg, began its I-team in 1980; late last year, the station's three-person unit was reinforced by a second full-time reporter and photographer. Seven years ago WTSP was ranked last in local news ratings, but the station has been number two since late 1983. "The I-team is well-recognized in the market as part of the station's image," says news director Ken Middleton.

Starting an investigative team has become so closely associated with ratings success in some markets that at least one station, KTUL in Tulsa, has started an I-team despite the fact that in a "wishlist" audience survey taken before the team's formation, "investigations" ranked seventh on a thirteen-item list. News director Tom Doerr says that the decision to go ahead with the team was "strictly an editorial judgment." The

station's ratings haven't changed, he adds; it is still number one.

The KTUL I-team's first story was on corruption in the state's new horse-racing commission and, says Doerr, "We were preaching to an empty church. At first, I got no reaction at all. Then people said, 'So what? Some guy tried to extort one million dollars? That's business as usual.' We seriously considered switching our coverage to azalea festivals and rodeos, but then we just decided to stick with the I-team. I think we have to." Doerr is convinced that an audience will be built over time and that management — KTUL is an Allbritton station — will give him the time he needs.

In one of the nation's largest markets, full-fledged investigations are de rigueur. "In Chicago, if you don't do investigations, you get creamed," says Douglas Longhini, investigative producer at WMAQ-TV in that city.

WMAQ and WBBM both have investigative units, with WBBM's led by Pam Zekman. (Before going to WBBM, Zekman shared two Pulitzers for work done by the *Chicago Tribune*'s investigative team.) At WLS, John Drury functions as anchor as well as investigative reporter; backing him up are a full-time producer and a researcher.

ut in most cities, the success of one I-team doesn't mean that other stations will follow. What seems to be happening, says Don Shelby of WCCO in Minneapolis/St. Paul, is that stations are searching for different approaches to "divvy up the market."

"You start a unit because there's a need for it, and if you're successful with it, it starts a competitive shakeup," says Ken Middleton of WTSP in Tampa. "When we moved to number two, number two moved to number three and the lead station started feeling threatened, so they're both fine-tuning their image—I'd describe one as 'news you can use' and the other as strongly traditional." No other station in the market has a full-time investigative unit.

Mike Lewis, news director at WDAF in Kansas City, says that although his station is number one, "we have to go after stories that are a little harder to get in order to stay there." He sees his competition as taking a different tack: "The

most investigative news manpower in the market is at KCTV, with a feature called 'Call for Action,' which uses volunteers to screen phone calls, letters, and complaints about consumer or community problems. They did a great series on TV repair.''

Meanwhile, in their quest to air hard news that sells, some of the older investigative units are turning to new kinds of stories. "In the old days, there were a lot of cops and robbers in our stories," says Shelby of WCCO in Minneapolis, whose unit's reports were often criticized in the local press for being sensationalistic. "We did sixteen of those stories and we got fifteen or more job changes and four indictments. The key word here is indictments, since the goal then was to obtain some kind of certified action." In contrast, says Shelby, recent reports have provided "a scrutiny of public policy."

In one such new-style report (which won a Peabody), WCCO ran a story by Shelby on how the practice of contracting out local ambulance services to a private company had resulted in poor service that may have contributed to several unnecessary deaths. "The people running the ambulance company were not criminals," says Shelby. "But people's lives were in jeopardy, and the system was overhauled."

Another recent WCCO report focused on a government insider who played a role in such activities as ticket-fixing for public officials. "We'd been waiting for this guy for four years," says Shelby, "and we got him, on tape, at meetings with public officials.

"These new kinds of reports are often boring," Shelby adds, "filled with details and incessant talking heads. Consultants will tell you that it's bad television. But it's a great story."

In Chicago, investigative producer Douglas Longhini also believes that more "bad television" is in the cards for local I-teams. When Longhini came to WMAQ's Unit 5 in 1980, a station rule decreed that any I-team story had to have both an identifiable victim. "I found that to be an obnoxious view, trying to organize the news in a way that may not be true," he says.

When Unit 5 put together a story on patronage and waste in the state govern-

JOURNALISM REVIEW

SPECIAL HOLIDAY RATES



\$14 a year for your own subscription or first gift: \$10 for each additional gift FOR: FROM:

NAME (please print) NAME (as it will appear on gift card)

ADDRESS ADDRESS

CITY, STATE, ZIP CITY, STATE, ZIP

☐ First subscription at \$14 or ☐ Bill me ☐ Renew mine at \$14 ☐ Payment enclosed \$_____

□ ___additional gift(s) at \$10

Please list additional subscriptions on a separate sheet and enclose with order



NO POSTAGE NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

FIRST CLASS

PERMIT NO. 636

MARION, OHIO

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

JOURNALISM REVIEW

> 200 ALTON PLACE MARION, OH 43306



ment's fifty-five special commissions, the series — which won a Peabody and resulted in the abolition of all the commissions — was not aired as a Unit 5 investigation because, Longhini believes, it was judged by the old standard. "The problem with doing stories about the system not working," he says, "is that there's no one victim. The taxpayer is both everybody and nobody."

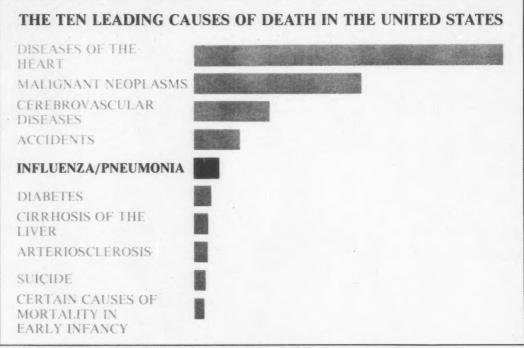
New management abolished the villain-victim rule and, since then, Unit 5 has been going after the story behind news events. For example, when an elevated ramp collapsed in Indiana and twelve people were killed, Unit 5 was put to work to examine the causes of the disaster. In another story, Unit 5 revealed how some police evidence was kept secret when it pointed to the innocence of arrested suspects.

At KRON in San Francisco, the definition of investigative stories has expanded. "It's more than finding someone's hand in the till," says news director Mike Ferring. "We try to focus on issues." One recent issue-related story outlined how local environmentalists and a businessman who wanted to open a gravel pit talked out their differences and reached an agreement. "It explained the basic arguments on both

sides in a way that was exceptionally clear," says Ferring.

"Bad television" featuring gravel pits, talking heads, and the complexities of a patronage system is a far cry from what the critics have come to expect from the local news. Does this mean the end of hard-sell ratings-sweep promos, like a recent one at KYW in Philadelphia featuring a revealing look at the trendy new sport of "canoeing in the nude"? As stations across the country give hard news a chance, the local television news market is full of surprises. How serious is local television about news? Stay tuned; film at 10.

The disease that will not die... an untold story.



SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics-Monthly Vital Statistics Report, Vol. 29, No. 6, Supplement 2, 1978.

Many of us believe that pneumonia is a disease of the past—long ago conquered by antibiotics. The fact is that bacteria-caused pneumonia strikes between 400,000 to 500,000 people, causing from 20,000 to 50,000 deaths each year, according to U.S. Government reports. A high percentage of these illnesses and deaths can be prevented—by a vaccine that has been developed, tested and proven effective.

A few million people are immunized; many millions more should be. Unfortunately, the very people most susceptible to pneumococcal pneumonia—the elderly, those with a history of chronic ailments, such as respiratory illnesses, heart disease, diabetes and others—may not know about the vaccine. They need to be informed.

Public attention, mainly through the media, has been mobilized to fight against disease—notably polio, other childhood diseases, hypertension, glaucoma, TB, and others. The time is now for pneumococcal pneumonia to be on that hit list.



For information about pneumococcal pneumonia vaccine, call or write:

Public Affairs Department, Lederle Laboratories,

Wayne, New Jersey 07470, 201/831-4684.

BOOKS

Taking the bait

PR: How the Public Relations Industry Writes the News

by Jeff and Marie Blyskal William Morrow and Company. 228 pp. \$17.95

by WILLIAM BOOT

A local TV news broadcast is under way and the immaculately blow-dried anchorman puts on his serious face to introduce an ominous story: the nation's military computers are vulnerable to penetration by high-tech vandals who could inadvertently trigger a third world war.

Cut to video montage of military men monitoring computer screens in underground early-warning complex. Reporter's voiceover: "As depicted in the new motion picture WarGames, the U.S. has been brought to a full military alert, all because a typical computer whiz kid has gained access to our military computer system."

After airing comments of a computersecurity expert, the broadcast concludes portentously with a statement by *War-Games* director John Badham: "The possibility that a youngster could do this on a fluke is a very real, real possibility."

Why, you may be asking, did the report rely so heavily on Hollywood to back up its frightening thesis? The answer is simple: the story was produced not by a TV news operation but by a public relations outfit plugging the 1983 MGM/UA film. The "anchorman" actually was an actor instead of just looking like one.

As Jeff and Marie Blyskal reveal in PR: How the Public Relations Industry Writes the News, the tape was fed to 230 TV news departments across the country as part of a "video press release." In-

credibly enough, 170 stations took the bait, giving the film a surge of free advertising masquerading as news. MGM/ UA told the Blyskals that 40 percent of those stations aired the material completely unedited.

There was nothing terribly unusual about this press reaction, according to the book, which does for the image of journalists what reports on Chappaquiddick have done for the image of Ted Kennedy.

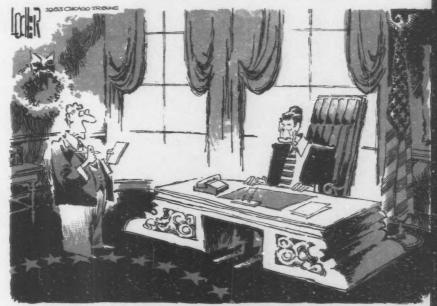
PR is intended for general audiences, but even experienced news reporters will be astonished to learn just how widespread and insidious press puffery has become. The authors estimate that 40 to 50 percent of all news stories originate in public relations firms and conclude that "whole sections of the news are virtually owned by PR." For self-respecting journalists, the unkindest cut is that what p.r. firms exploit most effectively is our own good name — or, as the Blys-

kals less charitably put it, our "wellcalculated image of being a seeker of truth, an adversary of interest groups."

A guiding principle of public relations is to find an independent third party to endorse what one is trying to sell, be it a Pet Rock or a "new ideas" candidate. To an increasing extent, as the book shows, p.r. uses the press itself as third party endorser, planting stories to sell wares under the flag of objectivity.

Robert Wiener, the p.r. guru behind Coleco's Cabbage Patch doll bonanza, made no bones about the endorsement strategy in an interview with the Blyskals: "When Bryant Gumbel or Jane Pauley . . . says "Here's the season's hottest item," it means more to consumers than if Coleco says the same thing. The credibility that achieves far outweighs an advertisement."

The book describes the skill with which Wiener staged attention-grabbing events (e.g., a mass "adoption" of the



"MY DOMESTIC POLICIES COULD USE A BOOST... FIND OUT WHO THE GUY WAS THAT PROMOTED THE CABBAGE PATCH DOLL."

William Boot is a contributing editor of CJR.



dolls by a group of Boston schoolgirls). Buying hysteria quickly took hold. Armed with local newspaper clippings about shop-floor fights over the dolls, Wiener convinced NBC they were a news phenomenon. He also presented the pregnant Jane Pauley with her own doll. *Today* devoted five and one-half minutes to the "story," opening the floodgates of national publicity.

Air time on local stations is even easier to come by.

Why are news organizations such an easy mark? Among the factors cited by the Blyskals: chronic understaffing, the need to fill a large news hole, the quest for shortcuts by journalists under pressure from editors.

Publicists are only too happy to provide the shortcuts, and the book quotes a typical result, courtesy of the *New York Post*:

SOMEWHERE OVER MIAMI — I'm reaching down and touching someone right now. He's my city editor, 30,000 feet below. . . . Brand-new "air-phones" like the one in my hand are being installed in commercial planes . . . [And if the Airfone company hadn't given me this filler, my city editor might have reached out and crushed some-

Over time, the Blyskals suggest, p.r. hype in the guise of news can distort public perceptions of many things, among them:

body.1

☐ What is real. Film studios such as Universal regularly send out video interviews with film stars to promote new movies and series so that "local TV people can insert themselves into the inter-

views and appear to be rubbing elbows with the Hollywood elite." A local reporter tapes himself asking the question, then the camera appears to cut away to the star answering. It's a guaranteed ratings booster. The book quotes a studio executive saying he knows he can get away with the sleight-of-hand because people believe anything they see on TV. ☐ What is significant. Walt Disney Productions managed in 1982 to generate some 20,000 stories about the opening of its futuristic EPCOT amusement park in Orlando. Free trips to Florida, satellite broadcast facilities, and other press incentives put the park's advent virtually on a par with a presidential inauguration or the signing of a nuclear arms treaty.

It was another stirring example of the press helping America keep its priorities straight.

☐ What is a trend. A piece in Forbes heralding a new development in sports — the use of computers in devising professional football strategy — was accompanied by a rash of similar reports in Business Week, on CBS, and on a



UNDERWRITER?

Insurance is a confusing business . . . especially so since the language we use in it very often means something entirely different to non-insurance people. To us, an underwriter is someone that evaluates risks. To others . . . who knows?

If you're working on a story on insurance . . . and need to plug into "our" language . . . give us a call. If it's personal insurance —auto, home, life, boat—chances are we can help you come up with a translation that everyone can understand.



Media Information Service State Farm Insurance Companies One State Farm Plaza Bloomington, IL 61701 Phone: 309-766-2625 number of local TV stations. In fact, the "trend" amounted to a sales pitch by the Quantel computer company's p.r. firm. All the reports mentioned or showed a Quantel.

□ What may be dangerous. In the face of studies showing that saccharin caused cancer in mice, the soft-drink industry hired scientists to tour the country stating that for humans to take in a comparable amount of the sweetener, they would each have to drink 1,250 bottles of diet soda a day. That concept was catchy, simple to explain, hence widely disseminated by the press. It "swept the public consciousness," according to the book, helping limit initial FDA action to requiring a warning label rather than imposing a saccharin ban.

he book's many examples from entertainment and product p.r. are fascinating and in themselves make it worth reading. Unfortunately, its account of White House/Pentagon p.r. machinations adds little to that oft-told story and the book also falls down in three other areas.

To begin with, the writing is often poor. The authors use "leverage" as a verb, "refute" when they mean rebut, "laughed" and "remembered" when they mean said. They also ape *Time*-speak: "Explained Kissinger," "Concluded the level-headed Andersen." Backward run sentences until reels the mind, as *The New Yorker* once said.

Second, the Blyskals — despite experience as magazine writers — at times seem naive about journalism. To cite but one example, they describe a journalist on Grenada discovering that U.S. jets had bombed a mental hospital: "'This is the big scoop,' [New York Post reporter] Lachman thought to himself. "We've got to go there." "If Lachman actually had to verbalize such a thought, he would never have had the ingenuity to get to Grenada in the first place.

Third, and most important, the authors have a rather simplistic, extreme conception of p.r. and its dangers. They insist that there is a clear distinction between "real news" — the result, for instance, of digging and investigation — and "imitation news" based on p.r.

The distinction seems to hold up in the egregious cases they focus on: it's hard, for instance, to imagine a better example of imitation news than the Dramamine



Screamer's contest — a search for the country's most exciting roller coaster arranged by the makers of an antinausea drug. (It was covered by a nauseating 191 news organizations which conveyed the

Mencken's Spirit Still Stirs



THE H.L. MENCKEN WRITING AWARD—a tribute to that fiesty Baltimore Sun newsman's originality and vigor—annually recognizes the rare contemporary columnist who shares his spirit.

It is with special pride that THE BALTIMORE SUN names the 1985 H.L. Mencken award winner: Tim Giago.

Giago's syndicated column, "Notes from Indian Country," forcefully yet compassionately exposes the racial barriers facing Native Americans, himself included.

Tim Giago keeps the Mencken legacy alive today.

For information on the 1986 contest, write or call:

Contest Coordinator THE BALTIMORE SUN 501 North Calvert Street Baltimore, Maryland 21278 (301) 332-6222



thrills-with-no-spills message to an estimated 60 million people.)

But the authors rashly go on to attack reports based on any source, or leaker, who is pushing a point of view. Such reports amount to p.r., not "real news," the Blyskals argue.

By this purist logic, some of the most distinguished reporting in American journalism was, in fact, debased by p.r. Presumably Deep Throat had a strong point of view about Nixon's men. Does this mean *The Washington Post*'s Watergate coverage was not "real news"?

When a professional p.r. man tips a reporter, the information is frequently true. If the reporter checks his facts and seeks balancing points of view, the resulting story is often quite legitimate, if not of Pulitzer caliber.

In short, the Blyskals have provided a valuable chronicle of p.r. excesses, but are excessively moralistic in condemning p.r. Free advance copies of their book, after all, have been distributed by the publisher's p.r. people, without whose cooperation this review would not have been possible.

The feud reviewed

The Press and the Presidency: From George Washington to Ronald Reagan

by John Tebbel and Sarah Miles Watts Oxford University Press. 583 pp. \$25.00

by PIERS BRENDON

In their time journalists have directed some choice vituperation at inhabitants of the White House. One remembers Charles A. Dana's characterization of Grant as a drunken despot, a heathen boor, a blackmailing, anti-Semitic jobber with a tendency towards kidnapping and a sympathy for bigamists. But newspapermen by no means enjoy a monopoly on invective and presidents have been quick to retaliate in kind. That champion of the press Thomas Jefferson

Piers Brendon, a frequent contributor to the Review, lives in Cambridge, England. His latest book, a biography of Dwight D. Eisenhower, will be published by Harper and Row next year. 'If it were left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government. I should not hesitate for a moment to prefer the latter' 1787



The man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them. inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors' 1807

The Jessenon.

said that an editor could reform himself by dividing his newspaper into four "chapters," headed "truths," "probabilities," "possibilities," and "lies" the first chapter would be very short. Theodore Roosevelt described Jay Gould's World as "a local, stock-jobbing sheet of limited circulation and versatile mendacity, owned by the arch thief of Wall Street and edited by a rancorous kleptomaniac with a penchant for trousers." Harry Truman declared that Joseph Pulitzer was "the meanest character assassin in the whole history of liars" and bet that he and his ilk had made hell "untenable for the devil."

John Tebbel and Sarah Miles Watts do well to remind us of these sulphurous exchanges in their excellent new chronological study of the press and the presidency. For, as they show, the relationship between these two institutions is essentially one of opposition.

John F. Kennedy summed it up when he told special counsel Ted Sorensen, "Always remember that their interests and ours ultimately conflict." Yet, more than many chief executives, Kennedy understood the nature, and recognized the necessity, of the First Amendment. He noted that although totalitarian governments had the freedom to move in secret, they suffered by not exposing their activities to a constant, abrasive, independent scrutiny. So "even though we never like it, and even though we wish they didn't write it, and even though we disapprove, there isn't any doubt that we could not do the job at all in a free society without a very, very active press." But for all these liberal sentiments, Kennedy never forgot the fundamental conflict of interest. Like others in his position, he was eager to transform the press from the people's watchdog into the president's lapdog, and he developed new techniques for manipulating the media. His visceral attitude was typified in a scribbled note asking whether there was "a plan to brief and brainwash key press' immediately after the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Kennedy's methods may have been relatively sophisticated, but what Tebbel and Watts show with unprecedented clarity is that his ambition to manage the news has been perennial among presidents. They also show that it often coincided with fulsome acknowledgments that only an informed electorate could make democracy work. Thus, Jefferson justified the operation of a free press more nobly than anyone except Milton. "No government ought to be without

censors," he said, "& where the press is free, no one ever will. If virtuous, it need not fear the fair operation of attack and defense. Nature has given to man no other means of sifting out the truth." Jefferson actually believed that it was more important to be informed than governed. Yet as president he wanted to mount selected libel prosecutions of the newspapers that were attacking him most virulently. He argued that to do so would have "a wholesome effect in restoring the integrity of the presses."

This argument — that the press must somehow be controlled for its own, or the public's, benefit — has appeared in countless guises over the last two hundred years. John Adams apparently believed in a kind of journalistic Gresham's Law — that bad newspapers would drive out good - and he thought that the free press must be saved from the corruption that would destroy it; hence his endorsement of the Sedition Act. Andrew Jackson was the first systematic "presidential manipulator of the press," often in the name of reform or to prevent northern papers from advocating abolition in the South. Lincoln suppressed newspapers to preserve the Union. Theodore Roosevelt tried to indict Pulitzer for libeling the United States government. Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt imposed censorship in wartime. In order to preserve the dignity of his office, Herbert Hoover used the Secret Service to keep the press at bay, attempted to get reporters who wrote hostile stories fired, and employed a press secretary so rebarbative that one journalist termed his appointment "the first known instance of a rat joining the sinking ship." The actions of Nixon against Spiro Agnew's "nattering nabobs of negativism," all taken in the interests of national security, of course, are too many and too familiar to detail.

None of these presidents, it seems, grasped the crucial import of the First Amendment, which is that any form of prior restraint, whatever its motive, is fatal. As Jefferson said, there is no remedy for the evil of bad newspapers, for "our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost."

The central theme that Tebbel and



When you don't have all the time in the world...

WORLDWATCH

...gives you all the facts and dates you need to know to keep ahead of international developments before they happen. And try it for six weeks—with absolutely no obligation! After the six week trial, you'il be billed \$295 for a full year's subscription.

WORLDWATCH is a weekly news service (you will receive it every Monday morningi) publishing over 400 facts about important forthcoming business, economic and political events around the world. THAT'S OVER 20,000 FACTS A YEAR!

GET ADVANCE NOTICE OF • summit meetings • elections • legislation • business events • major reports • foreign tours of ministers • economic indicators • referendums • conferences • demonstrations • strikes

WORLDWATCH is published 46 times a year, and has a special U.S. section that gives you more advance information on future events in the U.S. than any other publication in existence! So when you don't have all the time in the world—let WORLDWATCH bring you the future world in condensed form. A time-saver, a planning tool, an invaluable reference—WORLDWATCH—get it before your competition does!

Order your no risk subscription to WORLDWATCH today! Please send your request to FACTS ON FILE or save time and dial direct. Call us at 1-800-322-8755 (except in New York, Hawaii, or Alaska). You'll receive your six-week trial subscription with absolutely no obligation to subscribe.

GET TOMORROW'S NEWS TODAY WHILE YOUR COMPETITION IS STILL READING WHAT'S HISTORY

ONLY WITH WORLDWATCH

FACTS ON FILE INC. 460 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

Watts develop is that the media have always been vulnerable to manipulation by the White House, especially since the time of Theodore Roosevelt, who first practiced the art of seizing headlines by deliberately generating news. The growth of presidential power, combined with a loss of inhibition about disseminating big official lies after about 1960. has both narrowed and polluted the channels of public information. Of course, the number of Washington correspondents has vastly increased, from perhaps a dozen in 1823 to some 10,000 in 1982. But broadcasting accounts for much of the recent increase and a government can more easily focus television's cyclopean gaze on what it wants seen, or blind it altogether, than evade the argus-eyed scrutiny of print journalists, however torpid. Furthermore, there has been a huge proliferation in the public relations staff at the White House. In 1960 it consisted of about half a dozen people. Now between 150 and 500 (depending on how their jobs are defined) of Reagan's staff are engaged in "staging" (Larry Speakes uses the word without embarrassment) the presidential news. Tebbel and Watts warn that the imperial presidency "may well be capable of nullifying the First Amendment, in a relatively short time and with public support."

aybe they exaggerate the power as well as the malignancy of the modern presidency. Certainly they engage in such a consistent polemic against past chief executives that they themselves lanse into inconsistency. For example, they take Taft, Wilson, and Hoover to task for keeping the press at arm's length. But then they blame the two Roosevelts and Kennedy for courting correspondents. Coolidge is criticized for being chilly and reserved towards newsmen, but Truman gets no credit for dropping into the pressroom for drinks, peanuts, and poker with reporters. Tebbel and Watts approve of the adversarial relationship between press and presidency but they seem only to censure manifestations of hostility from the White House. Thus, they give no details of the appalling attacks the New

York Daily News mounted on FDR (for example, vilification of "Jewish warmongers" in his administration and even sneers at his physical handicaps). But they apparently endorse the view that Roosevelt's mock bestowal of an Iron Cross on the News's "sixth columnist" John O'Donnell was a "low blow."

Still. Tebbel and Watts are undoubtedly biased in the right direction and. these reservations notwithstanding, they largely sustain their case. This is one reason why their book is no mere echo of James E. Pollard's similar enterprise. The Presidents and the Press (1947), which was a compilation without an interpretation. Both volumes, it must be said, suffer somewhat from their format because they cover each and every president, however insignificant. So there is much repetitious analysis (the invariable pattern is a brief presidential honeymoon with the press, followed by recrimination and mistrust) devoted to dim nineteenth-century figures like Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, and Chester Arthur. Thus, these large tomes are more rewarding as works of reference than as narrative histories. On the other hand, both are written in lively style, Tebbel and Watts in particular being admirably irreverent. Both abound with rich anecdote and sharp characterization. And both are based on sound scholarship.

Tebbel and Watts score heavily, of course, because they incorporate the latest academic findings into their volume. Moreover, they are refreshingly unintimidated by the mountains of research through which they have plowed. Take the recent excesses by Eisenhower revisionists, for instance, who would have us believe that the goofing, golfing General Eisenhower of legend was really a Machiavellian political genius. Tebbel and Watts conclude sagely that "no amount" of revisionist rhetoric "will convince reporters who were there that Eisenhower was deliberately obfuscatory in his language, that he used battered syntax to conceal what he was doing, and that he always knew what he was doing." Good journalism, in short, is more reliable than bad history.

Discriminating students of every kind of journalism, Tebbel and Watts have written a very good history indeed.

The best of nineteen years of the Columbia Journalism Review's popular

The Lower case

has been collected in an entertaining paperback, Squad Helps Dog Bite Victim, published by Doubleday & Company

JOURNALISM REVIEW

700 JOURNALISM BUILDING, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027

- Send me one copy of "Squad Helps Dog Bite Victim." I enclose check for \$5.
- □ Enclosed is a check for \$39 to renew my current subscription for 3 years. I understand I will also receive, free, a copy of "Squad Helps Dog Bite Victim." (Please attach mailing label from current issue of the Review. Please allow six weeks for delivery.)

Name ______Address _____

City _____State ____Zip



"Forty years ago I had a back-alley abortion. I almost died from it."

If you wonder whether legal abortion is a good idea, ask any woman who survived an illegal one.

She'll tell you how painful, dirty, humiliating, and horribly dangerous a back-alley abortion was.

But despite the incredible risks, millions of American women had abortions before they were legalized nationwide in 1973. An untold number were maimed for life. Thousands were literally slaughtered, packed off bleeding and infected to die in abject terror.

Today the threat to women's lives and health no longer comes from abortion. It comes from those who want to outlaw it. People who argue that abortions should be banned—even if the result will be

as horrifying as it was in the past.

This increasingly vocal and violent minority will stop at nothing. They've resorted to harassment, physical threats, and even bombings. They're attacking the Constitution. And they're pressuring lawmakers to make abortion illegal again—for all women. Regardless of circumstances. Even if her life or health is endangered. Even if she's a victim of rape or incest. Even if she's too young to be a mother.

Speak out now. Use the coupon below. Or they just might succeed in turning back the clock to when women had no choice. But the back-alley.

The decision is yours.

☐ I've written my representatives in Congress to tell them I support: government programs that reduce the need for abortion by preventing unwanted pregnancy; and keeping safe and legal abortion a choice for all women.

☐ Here's my tax-deductible contribution in support of all Planned Parenthood activities and programs: ☐ \$25 ☐ \$35 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$75 ☐ \$150 ☐ \$500 or: \$

NAME

STREET/CITY/ZI

CJR-11



Planned Parenthood® Federation of America, Inc.

810 Seventh Avenue New York, New York 10019

The man who invented himself

Robert Capa: Photographs
Edited by Cornell Capa and Richard
Whelan
Alfred A. Knopf. 242 pp. \$35.00

Robert Capa: A Biography by Richard Whelan Alfred A. Knopf. 342 pp. \$19.95

by PHILIP B. KUNHARDT, JR.

For the past week I have left the new book of Robert Capa photographs open on a table in my house and every time I go by I stop and look for a while and then flip a page and come back later. This is a good way to look at a book of photographs, especially photographs of war and people under the stress of war like these taken by the most famous of all war photographers, who was killed in 1954 in Indochina by a land mine. It has made me deal with each image individually, picture by picture, with time in between for the last one to fade and not interfere with the sudden, sometimes cataclysmic reaction to the next.

This book is superb in both layout and reproduction. It has been edited by Cornell Capa, Robert's brother, and the writer and critic Richard Whelan, and it shows journalistic muscle - no artiness here. In content the book is extraordinary. Capa liked to emphasize that he was a journalist, not a photographer, and as if to enforce the differentiation he shunned learned technique - the arts of lighting, exposure, composition, and printing. He defied the rules. Some editors thought his camera was fitted with an automatic film-scratching device. Let your hand shake a little to convey the excitement of battle, he joked to students. Although Capa could wield his camera with delicacy and precision, in the heat of battle he used it as a blunt instrument. He thrust it, along with himself, into places it had no right to be. into dark places, dangerous places. "It's not a job for a grown man to click a

Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr. worked for Life magazine for thirty-three years and was its first managing editor when it became a monthly in 1978. camera," he once said, and yet the face of war he brought back made grown men shudder. Many of the scenes are dark, granular, muted — as if pewter had been substituted for the silver in his film.

Co-editor Richard Whelan has written a companion book to go along with these unnerving pictures — a biography of Capa. I don't much like reading about how photographers got their pictures; that information is usually plodding, as if from a caption sheet. But Capa was such a unique and complex man, so filled with contradictions, that his life story, carefully researched and told by Whelan, fascinates and sheds light on his work. There are a few statements with which I disagree, like the one that describes Capa's picture of the humiliation of a French woman who had had a child by a German as revealing "most profoundly the directness of his sympathy for the suffering of individuals, regardless of their politics." Unless Mr. Whelan knows something I don't about the circumstances, I would guess that an insensitive bully with a camera in his hands could and would have taken this same picture if the extraordinary sight had presented itself to him. And I daresay Capa himself would be the first to agree. This is not to say that almost all of Capa's photographs don't focus on people or that his credo - get to know people, get them to like you - is not responsible for much of his success.

Whelan is best when he is describing Capa's split personality, his two sides, his public fun-loving pose and his private agony. Capa invented himself, John

Robert Capa



Hersey once wrote - and that's exactly what he did. Before he was called Capa, his name was André Friedmann. When the young and struggling Hungarian photographer wasn't too successful at selling his pictures in Paris in the early thirties, Friedmann lifted movie star Robert Taylor's first name and dropped the r out of movie director Frank Capra's last to help fabricate Robert Capa, international photojournalist extraordinaire, whose pictures could command three times the going rate. Friedmann, posing as darkroom assistant to the never-visible Capa, actually took the pictures which his girl friend, assuming the role of Capa's agent, sold. The ruse worked for a while, but Friedmann liked the mythical photographer he had created so much that soon he became the perfectly tailored, dashing, heroic Robert Capa in the flesh. The invented photographer not only turned out to be fearless, but he also loved regaling his friends with stories of his exploits, embellishing as he went. Whelan is very careful about sticking to the facts. When his sources differ, he lets both sides be heard. He pokes holes in many of Capa's exaggerations and confirms the truth of other far-fetched-sounding tales. He documents what Capa did and did not do in the five wars he covered and reports on the photographer's many love affairs as well, including a torrid one with Ingrid Bergman. He discusses openly the possibility of some fakery in Capa's work. And he describes his many friendships with celebrities like Picasso and Hemingway. It is a troubled life we see unfold. Spontaneous, generous, hard-drinking, kind, and outgoing on the one hand; cynical, easily bored, bitter, lonely, lost on the other, Capa and Friedmann "co-existed."

A born gambler, Capa believed in luck — but not dumb luck. When he took chances, he calculated the risks. Whelan offers insights into this charmed life. We also see clearly the darker side of this man who desperately tried to live up to his self-made reputation, who lived his life in hotel rooms, cut himself off from his family, detached himself from friends, would not marry the women he loved, and owned hardly a possession when the charm finally wore off.

.



Intoxicated by the excitement of war

As this handsome picture book shows, Capa photographed many scenes unrelated to war. But fighting was his specialty. He was drawn by the excitement and camaraderie he got from living on the edge of battle. His mission, Capa believed, was to record war's terrors, but he had no illusion that his pictures might help change mankind.

Capa's most famous picture is also his most controversial: some have suggested it was staged. Known simply as "Falling Soldier," the classic photograph was taken during the Spanish Civil War (1936).

Soon after the liberation of Chartres, Nazi collaborators were rounded up and their heads were shaved. This woman, carrying her child sired by a German soldier, is marched home in shame by her taunting neighbors.

This photograph of a bombed-out apartment (Madrid, 1936) is the only one of the 260 pictures in the book without the presence of a human being, alive or dead.



On April 18, 1945, an American soldier had just been shot on the balcony of a Leipzig apartment when Capa made this ghastly yet stunning portrait of death.



Photographs courtesy Cornell Capa; text and captions by Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr.



The sleaze factor

The News at Any Cost: How Journalists Compromise Their Ethics to Shape the News

by Tom Goldstein Simon and Schuster, 301 pp. \$18.95

by LOREN GHIGLIONE

In *The News at Any Cost*, Tom Goldstein, a former *New York Times* reporter and press secretary to New York City Mayor Ed Koch, deliciously gossips about Gotham:

☐ Special press license plates, intended for reporters who regularly have to rush to a news event, were, in 1984, illegally attached to a brown Maserati owned by Forbes Inc.; a gray Mercedes belonging to Percy Sutton, Inner City Broadcasting bossman and former New York politician; and a black Jaguar registered in the name of Straight Arrow, the company that publishes *Rolling Stone*.

☐ Goldstein "was forbidden" at the *Times* "to write about probably the best story I knew — the close relationship between Irving Kaufman, a federal appeals court judge, and the *Times*." The *Times*, Goldstein says, indulged the propress judge, regularly publishing his articles and publicizing his career.

☐ The *Times* "redlined" the city — blanketing Manhattan and the posh suburbs (prime targets of advertisers) with reporters but, Goldstein says, assigning just one reporter to Brooklyn and the three other boroughs (combined population: 5.5 million).

Beyond the media gossip, Goldstein reports comprehensively on such sins of the press as plagiarism, fabrication, conflict of interest, and a reluctance to admit errors, much less correct them. "The last couple of years," he writes, "have been especially troublesome" — a kind of ethical wasteland for the press.

His indictment is overstated. If today's media get a C-minus in ethics, the press of earlier eras gloried in the chicanery that earned it a solid F. Most of the sins Goldstein describes are quite tame compared to the wholesale whoring chronicled by Will Irwin in his famous 1911 *Collier's* series on the press. Today, many journalists seem to regard a hairshirt as an essential part of their wardrobe.

Nevertheless, the reporting on which Goldstein bases his indictment is extremely valuable. The book's best section, "The Techniques of Journalists," focuses on anything-to-get-the-story methods — ambush interviews, secret tape recordings, reporters masquerading as nonreporters.

Goldstein recounts the reporters' rationalizations. Bruce Bowers of WSCO-TV in Charlotte, who won a top journalism prize for a series on moonlighting by the city's chief of park police, justifies an ambush interview: "I did not make an appointment because of the type of person I thought he was." Los Angeles Times reporter Robert Scheer. asked how to check the accuracy of statements by secretive, staff-protected politicians, says, "The journalist's job is to get the story by breaking into their offices, by bribing, by seducing people, by lying, by anything else to break through that palace guard." Robert Sherrill, southern correspondent for The Texas Observer, concludes: "No good reporter is honest all the time, and it's silly to pretend otherwise."

In his chapter on press potentates—
"What Makes Bosses Different"—
Goldstein convincingly supports his argument that media managers and owners shouldn't become so involved in civic activities and the business of their businesses that they forget the special obligations of everyone in journalism. He recalls the \$180,000 donation by Florida media owners to defeat a referendum on the legalization of gambling casinos in several resort communities, an example of the kind of community involvement that undermines the press's credibility.

Most of Goldstein's common-sense conclusions about the impact of media bosses hit the mark. Clearly, for instance, a business should not be applauded in the news columns just because it buys \$3 million in advertising annually. But occasionally he misses. He says it would be "silly" for newspapers to stop putting outside directors

— people not employed by or closely connected with the papers — on their boards. Papers, however, could survive quite easily without outside directors — and could thereby eliminate an area of apparent conflict of interest.

When it comes to small-town papers, Goldstein's treatment unfortunately lacks the research and firsthand knowledge to be especially insightful. (Conclusions about the even lower standards of the small-town press appear to be based largely on a 1911 editorial by William Allen White and on examples from two New York state weeklies, the *Hancock Herald* and the Walton *Reporter*.)

With those few exceptions, Goldstein effectively describes the press's ethical problems. Perhaps that is sufficient for those who are not media mavens. But for those who work in the press and contribute to its ethical problems, he adds little in the way of meaty solutions.

ometimes he offers truisms: "Journalists need to show greater self-restraint. . . . Journalists need to abandon the mentality that impels them to pursue a story at any cost."

Other times he stops short of adequate analysis. He calls the deceased National News Council "a promising approach to holding the media accountable," but fails to indicate whether he thinks the results from news councils, ombudsmen, and other devices to encourage accountability are worth the cost and effort.

He says that Columbia's highly regarded Graduate School of Journalism, which he attended, offered "little guidance in ethical matters." He does not, however, explain why ethics, in journalism schools and newsrooms alike, is regarded as essentially a frill; nor does he suggest what journalism schools and training programs for today's journalists are — or should be — doing to improve press ethics. As a teacher of journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, he might have provided an especially valuable perspective on these matters.

In short, while *The News at Any Cost* does an excellent job of reporting the press's failings, it too timidly approaches the bigger challenge — articulating the ways in which those failings can be overcome.

Loren Ghiglione, a former member of the National News Council, is editor and publisher of the Bristol, Connecticut, Press, and the Southbridge, Massachusetts, News.

INTER THE WORLD OF AIPINE MOBILE ELECTRONICS



That I aniboration has chosen. Alpine for so many years is under standable. Alpine offers mobile, audio security and cellular telephone systems of extreme quality precision and performance.

Through them all runs on uncommon denominator. The Alpine Touch, an attitude of uncompromised quality from design inception to final pistallation.

If creates car audio systems eaual to the finest home electranics Mobile security systems able to outsmart the smartest thret And mobile cellular telephones of unsurpassed

Alpine Dealers, justifiably called Mobile Electronics
Specialists, are equally strict in system selection and installation For such carefully selected

professionals, only flawless til and finish will do

Not every driver demands as such precision and performance. But for those who are so demanding there is the Alpine Touch Enter the world of quality mobile electronics.

Call 1-800 ALPINE 1 to reach an Alpine Mobile.

Electronics Specialist pear your





disporanti rasibe Aishe to

BRIBRINGS

by GLORIA COOPER

The specialty shop

A Washington Perspective, by Stephen Hess, The Donald S. MacNaughton Symposium at Syracuse University, April 23-24, 1985

As if takeover attempts, libel suits, and public distrust weren't worries enough, the rising phenomenon of professional specialization further beclouds the graying journalistic skies. Spotted by Brookings fellow Stephen Hess on his continuing Washington media watch, PS, as he calls it for short, appears to confirm the sociological theorem that institutions in conflict come to resemble one another - in this case, the government and the press. As Hess explains it, the lowly occupations of public administration and journalism have traveled such parallel paths in their quest for professional standing, respectability, and prestige that, when it comes to Ivy League backgrounds and social views, officials and journalists now have more in common with each other than with the populace they serve. More disquieting still, the press's advance toward professionalism has been accompanied by a rocketing specialization that may diminish the power of traditional newsroom generalists. Some 40 percent of Washington reporters, for instance, now consider themselves to be specialists in their field, and while at first blush such expertise would seem to promise more and better news, the trend includes a darker side that needs to be explored.

One potentially disastrous danger Hess foresees lies in the increasing use in news stories of the unintelligible jargon of the specialized beat; for with PS journalists enjoying an ever-greater degree of autonomy and independence — indeed, he predicts an eventual shift in control of the final news product away from editors and producers to the newsgatherers themselves — their copy will require an ever-stronger generalist-editor's hand. Example: In the Baltimore Sun's newsroom, Pentagon correspondent Charles Corddry is referred to as "The General" — and who, Hess asks pointedly, is going to argue with a general?

A related danger is in the spread of what Hess identifies as "insideritis" — more stories that are fascinating to the specialist journalist and his likeminded source but about which most of the public couldn't care less. Example: Two front-page stories in December 1984 issues of *The New York Times*, re-

lying on unattributed sources and detailing ten mid-level personnel changes to be made in the office of the Secretary of State — reports that were dutifully followed by interpretive pieces by a number of syndicated columnists and a lead editorial in the *Times*.

In-depth coverage, a PS hallmark that is generally accepted as an absolute good, also begins to look less ideal to Hess when it turns into overkill on topics whose primary interest is to the specialists themselves. Example: Twelve election stories by twelve reporters and columnists, amounting to more than 12,000 words, appeared in the March 4. 1985, Washington Post; fourteen election stories or columns by fourteen reporters and columnists, amounting to over 11,000 words, appeared in the March 25 Washington Post. Since the average reader wasn't likely to recognize half the players in the stories, why, Hess wants to know, does the paper assume that the game is the readers' favorite sport?

Other issues underscored by the PS phenomenon are more abstract: the temptation of reporters to so identify with the agencies they cover that they fail to appreciate the viewpoints of the critics; the dilemma posed by "in-and-outers" (witness the many -count 'em, eleven - New York Timespeople who in recent years have circled through the steadily revolving government door), journalists whose experiences enhance their reportage but who may also have a hidden agenda of policies to promote. And practical matters demand attention too: the growing job satisfaction (and salaries) of specialized reporters will not only bring stability to the newsroom (and cost their bosses more) but will also, Hess warns, keep fresh young newcomers from getting a foot in the door.

In short, like all professional progress, journalistic specialization is not without its sociological price. Hess's insights, creatively addressed, can help ensure that this particular development, at least, remains more boon than bane.

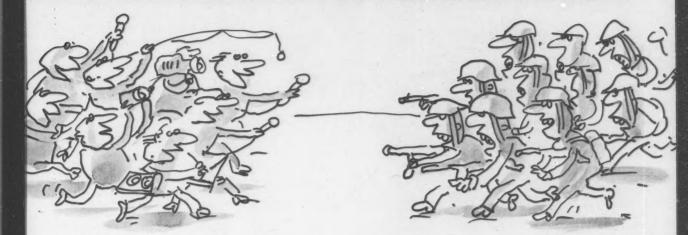
A separate war

Battle Lines, report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on the Military and the Media, Priority Press Publications, 178 pp. 1985

With the American press still nursing the humiliating wounds inflicted by the U.S. military in Grenada, and with the U.S. military still pained by the memories of American press coverage of Vietnam, the postwar boom in media-military seminars, sympo-



JR/Niculae Asciu



siums, conferences, and panels suggests a practical need on the part of both camps to contain the dangerously escalating hostilities. The report of the task force at hand gives a valuable boost to that impulse, not only through its recommendations, which seem sensible enough, but even more so, perhaps, by way of the myth-dispelling background paper on which those recommendations are based. Drawing on a wealth of interviews, dispatches, memorandums, and memoirs, the paper, prepared by veteran journalist Peter Braestrup, traces the evolving relationship between the military and the media in overseas battle zones from 1941 to 1985. War by war, sometimes battle by battle, Braestrup spotlights the fundamental forces operating in the journalistic theater, from White House policy, military attitudes, and strategic concerns to press-support systems, technological imperatives, and information control.

It is this lattermost, of course - the conditions, degree, and effectiveness of battlezone censorship - that is at the heart of the military-media conflict and that serves as Braestrup's central theme. The logistics of transmitting copy from the Normandy beaches on D-Day (batches were to be turned over to a correspondent's "conducting military public information officer" who would attach a priority sheet for the London censors, then put the copy in a special bag to be handed over at the proper dispatch point for cross-Channel delivery); the compulsory review of print and broadcast reports in Korea, made at the request of correspondents troubled by the dual burden of a voluntary code of censorship and their own competitive zeal; the ground rules, followed with rare exceptions, for avoiding visual closeups or identification of the dead or wounded in Vietnam; the total absence of planning for the presence of the press during the invasion of Grenada, and the chaos that ensued — the unfolding pattern challenges arguments cherished by both sides of the censorship debate.

or in truth, as Braestrup's chronicle shows, acceptance of restraints on war-zone coverage has always been a part of the military-media relationship, as has acceptance of the corollary principle that the press ought to be on hand — and helped — to report on what is going on. It is this demonstrably workable tradition, therefore, so unnecessarily breached in the Grenada assault, that the recommendations of the task force aim to restore — while recognizing full well, of course, that the times, the nature of warfare, and especially the journalists and officers themselves have changed.

First and foremost, the task force - whose thirteen members include prominent journalists, military officers, lawyers, newspaper and television executives, and a former deputy secretary of defense - stresses (in specific distinction to the military's Sidle panel, whose appended 1984 report it generally commends) the need to reestablish presidential authority in matters relating to press access and censorship, rather than relinquish such decisions to military people, as happened in Grenada. Second, the task force rejects the option (seriously considered in the aftermath of Grenada by the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press and lucidly examined in a separate chapter here) of settling questions of press rights during combat in courts of law, preferring to rely on cooperative understandings between the government and the news media - or on congressional pressure, should it come to that. Third, the task force urges a reemphasis of the role of Defense Department public affairs

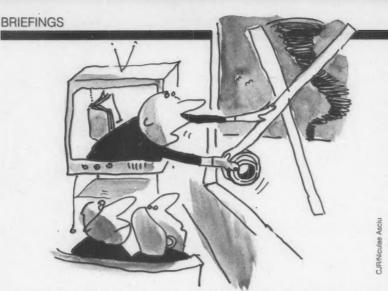
officers who, as insiders, would participate in the planning of military operations and serve as spokesmen for commanders in the field. Fourth, in acknowledgment of the legitimate need for the security of tactical operations, the task force favors the use of voluntary ground rules, such as those that were in effect in Vietnam, over the more restrictive and cumbersome censorship system used in World War II. And finally, noting the ever-widening culture gap between the two professional groups the officers, disciplined, conformist, cohesive, and brought up on flawed perceptions of press performance in Vietnam; the journalists, individualistic, competitive, suspicious of authority, and educated during a time when hostility toward the military was the campus norm — the task force urges a little broadening of horizons, a little field familiarization for both, such as increased attendance by reporters at major military maneuvers and First Amendment courses in the service

No one expects — indeed, no one would wish for — a perfect military-media peace. But there's a lot to be said for some tactical moves in the direction of detente, and *Battle Lines* says it, loud and clear.

Picking up the pieces

When Disaster Strikes, prepared by the Office of Public Affairs, Federal Emergency Management Agency, July 1985

Come hurricane or high water, the press will be there. But while local news media usually, sometimes heroically, manage to keep the community informed on how food, shelter, and medical help may be obtained during the emergency, explanations of the when and



where and how of the long-term recovery process can be almost as confusing and chaotic as the calamity itself. Hence this handbook for the media, prepared, with the assistance of major print and broadcast organizations and the department of journalism at American University, by FEMA, the agency charged with administering the Disaster Relief Act.

Written in simple, direct English and in-

telligently organized, the thirty-four-page booklet demystifies the local, state, and federal mechanisms that shift into gear when disaster hits, from the initial arrival of fire units and police to the ultimate signing of the presidential order that opens the way for federally funded loans for stricken businesses, highways, schools, and farms, and authorizes the provision of such social services as crisis counseling, legal representation, and tax advice from the IRS. Along the way, the snowstorm/earthquake/landslide/flood has become a full-fledged, legally defined "major disaster," and what may have seemed acronymic rubble assumes its precisely functional shape, be it an EOC (emergency operating center), a DAC (disaster assistance center), an FCO (federal coordinating officer), a FEMA PIO (public information officer), or just a plain Disaster Hotline (a service, incidentally, which in itself yields clues to the kinds of questions that the news media may need to address).

If averages hold, such hotlines will be activated some twenty-four times next year by catastrophes both natural and manmade and in American communities both large and small. Journalists who have bothered to acquaint themselves with the contents of this handbook will be better prepared to deliver practical news of recovery and relief. They may also be safer, if they bear in mind the included list of guidelines devised by the chemical industry for the protection of reporters (and of their electronic equipment and helicopters) at accident sites involving hazardous-material spills. One suggestion, however - that they "stick with officials to get the story" - is probably best taken with a grain or two of salt.

It takes a special kind of journalist to write about today's business environment.

Announcing the 19th Annual John Hancock Awards For Excellence In Business and Financial Journalism.

Each year, John Hancock honors writers who make it their business to report the financial news. The awards recognize lucid interpretation of the complex economic factors that affect our daily lives.

The bronze John Hancock medallion and \$5,000 are awarded in each of six categories for articles published in 1985. John Hancock also assumes expenses for recipients to attend the awards presentation program.

For entry blanks and information on next year's awards, write "Awards For Excellence," John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company T-54, P.O. Box 111, Boston, MA 02117.

Winners in the 18th Annual Competition.

Syndicated and News Service Writers: Cheryl Arvidson, Cox Newspapers.

Writers for National Magazines: Connie Bruck, The Atlantic.

Writers for Financial Publications: Cary Reich, Institutional Investor.

Writers for Newspapers with Circulation Above 300,000: George Anthan, Wendell Cochran, David Elbert, Tom Knudson, Dennis McDonald, Don Muhm, Jerry Perkins, Kenneth Pins and David Westphal, The Des Moines Register.

Writers for Newspapers with Circulation 100,000 to 300,000: Beth McLeod, Lawrence Spohn, Stan Swofford and Greta Tilley, Greensboro News & Record. Writers for Newspapers with Circulation Under 100,000: Greg David and Steven Strahler, Crain's Chicago Business.



John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, Boston, Massachusetts 02117 and affiliated companies.



The Judges say "Delicious." Land Service

Envision the freshest, natural ingredients. Delicate cream sauces. Subtle seasonings. Imagine an array of international culinary specialties beautifully prepared by accomplished and respected chefs...executive chefs such as Keith Mandabach of the Memphis Crowne Plază hotel.

Chef Mandabach, the recipient of numerous distinguished cooking medals, including several from the American Culinary Federation, has been the subject of articles in publications such as the New York Times, Chicago Tribune and Gourmet Magazine to name a few. His award-winning reputation earned him a position with the Crowne Plaza staff this year.

The pride in his craft, his superior training and experience reflect the good taste of all Crowne Plaza hotels...this is the calibre professional dedicated to serving you. Taste the style, sophistication and unsurpassed service of a Crowne

For hotel reservations, call 800-HOLIDAY.

Plaza hotel.

Crowne Plaza Hotols

Atlanta, GA (at International Airport

Dallas, TX (North)

Houston, TX = (Galferia Area)

Houston, TX

Los Angeles, CA (at LAX-International Airport)

(Convention Center)

Mexico City, Mexico (Fiesta Palace) - - -

Miami, FL (at International Airport

Monterrey-Mexico

New Orleans, LA (Convention Center Area

San Francisco, CA (at International Airport)

Samuelo de Crime

Seattle, WA

Stamford, CT

Washington, D.

Coming Soon:

Chicago-Naperville, IL (Chicago Area)

Kansas City, MO

Orlando, FL (Walt Disney World: Village

White Plains, N. (Downtown)



UNFINISHED BUSINESS

The UPI story

TO THE REVIEW:

Many at UPI were dismayed by the cover story on our company ("UPI's Disaster Story," CJR, September/October), which was below the usual standards of fairness and accuracy for which CJR is known.

The article depended heavily on long interviews with former managers who oversaw UPI's worst losses before being replaced with the present management team. It is shocking that a story purporting to be an insider's look at UPI offered no opportunity to comment for virtually all of the current managers.

None of the undersigned was interviewed. The article contained many glaring errors, such as the false report that UPI was unable to cover the death of Karen Ann Quinlan because of a staff shortage. UPI's editor-inchief or managing editor would have welcomed the opportunity to set the authors straight.

They also could have provided balance by describing how UPI's news report has maintained high standards despite the financial problems — and how staffing levels have increased since last spring.

In discussing changes in management, the story focused on personalities and gossip, with particularly one-sided and harsh treatment of UPI chairman Luis Nogales. The story thereby missed the point: the real inside story is a business story. UPI's problems stemmed from real and identifiable market factors. There was no description or analysis of these business conditions, nor of the steps taken in the past year to strengthen the company.

JOHN E. MANTLE, executive vicepresident, newspaper division; MAXWELL McCROHON, executive vice-president, editor-in-chief; RONALD COHEN, managing editor; LOU CARR, assistant managing editor; DAVID WIESSLER, assistant managing editor; TED MAJESKI, vice-president, newspictures editor; JOSEPH SCOPIN, graphics editor; WILLIAM K. ADLER, vice president, official spokesman; JACK KENNEY, senior vice-president, treasurer; DAVID HEWITT, business manager

The authors reply: The statement that virtually no current managers were interviewed is startling given the length of time we spent with company chairman Luis Nogales, executive editor Mike Hughes, and official UPI spokesman Dave Wickenden. In addition, the article quoted and otherwise relied on information from many other current UPI officials, legal advisers, editors, and reporters who chose not to have their names used. Repeated attempts — at least ten — to reach president Ray Wechsler were unsuccessful; it was Wickenden who returned our calls. Since we were in constant communication with him, we saw no need to contact William K. Adler, who, by the way, was interviewed last fall when research for the story began.

On Karen Ann Quinlan, the only specific "error" cited, our story did not say that UPI was "unable to cover" the death, but that it was "far behind on the breaking story." Four sources, three of them directly involved in the coverage that night, can reconfirm our version, and we stand behind it.

TO THE REVIEW:

In describing what happened to UPI under Scripps ownership, Katharine Seelye and Lawrence Roberts write: "But faced with a steady decline in the number of U.S. dailies . . . UPI began losing both money and clients." In fact, the number of daily newspapers in the United States has remained nearly constant for almost forty years.

DANE S. CLAUSSEN Chairman and publisher The Chicago Spectator Chicago, III.

The authors reply: Mr. Claussen is correct. But the figures do not reflect the fact that 20 percent of the dailies that folded between 1965 and 1980 had circulations of 250,000 or more — precisely the group on which UPI is most dependent for revenue.

The Philly formula

TO THE REVIEW:

Kudos to Philip Weiss for his analysis of the dearth of news on WPVI-TV's alleged news broadcasts ("Action News: the Philly Formula," CJR, September/October). All too often, Action News is not news at all, but a collection of tripe and fast-paced nonsense.

The unfortunate upshot of the program's success is that it has dragged the quality of broadcast journalism down to basement

level, since the two other affiliated stations in Philadelphia must mimic Action News to compete with it for ratings.

A market the size of Philadelphia deserves better coverage and more intelligence from its local broadcast organizations.

> CHRISTOPHER MYKRANTZ Philadelphia, Pa.

Inc. blots Block

TO THE REVIEW:

Chicago Mayor Harold Washington isn't the only public official with little respect for the *Tribune*'s Inc. column ("Inc. and Stinc.: Chicago's Latest Feud," CJR, September/October). An Inc. column printed in early August declared that Secretary of Agriculture John Block would be resigning before the end of the month. It claimed that the Illinois native had already hired an executive search team to find a new job for him.

Two days later Block held a news conference during a stop at the Illinois State Fair. When asked about reports that he might resign, Block replied, "You've been reading that Chicago gossip column again. I've warned you against that, and you shouldn't do that. The point I want to make is . . . first of all, I've not talked to any executive search team. I don't even know who they are and I don't know any of them."

While Block may be leaving office sometime soon (there have been rumors to that effect during his entire five-year tenure at USDA) it's obvious that Inc. was misinformed about the timing of his departure. At the end of August, Block was in Moscow—in his official capacity as Ag secretary—as part of a trade mission to the Soviet Union.

BEN STONE Anchor/reporter WGIL-WAAG Radio Galesburg, III.

P.S. to PM

TO THE REVIEW:

Penn Kimball's review of *Ingersoll* (CJR, September/October) gives *PM* a lot of attention, including an interesting list of "the real reasons for failure." All seem valid reasons, but Kimball omits the most important shortcoming: *PM* was always about twenty-four hours late. It contained the news that was in

Before the Stanleys got up to speed.



tabley Steamer Tabe 1890's

The Stanley Steamer. It would take the Stanley twins of Newton to the top of Mount Washington and back. But it would take the rest of the world much farther.

Because with the start of its engine would also come the start of the automobile age. An age The Boston Globe would witness right from the beginning.

In fact, long before the Stanleys hit the road, The Globe was on it covering Boston. From the revolutionary ideas that came out of MIT to the revolutionary speeches heard on Beacon Hill. From Harvard Square to Scollay Square. Day in and day out. Week to week. Era to era.

Which is why long before people got into automobiles, they were into The Globe.

The Boston Globe

A wholly owned subsidiary of Affiliated Publications, Inc.

YALE LAW SCHOOL FELLOWSHIPS IN LAW FOR JOURNALISTS 1986-87

Yale Law School invites applications for the tenth year of the Fellowship program, designed to provide experienced print and broadcast journalists with a systematic introduction to legal thought and increased sophistication in reporting on legal issues. Fellows follow the first year law school curriculum, consisting of basic required courses, including constitutional law, in the first term and electives in the second term, leading to the degree of Master of Studies in Law (M.S.L.). Five Fellowships, which cover the full amount of tuition, are awarded each year. The application deadline is February 1, 1986. For further information con-

Associate Dean Jamienne Studley **Yale Law School 401A Yale Station** New Haven, CT 06520 (203) 436-8917



FELLOWSHIPS IN EUROPE

Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism is again seeking applicants for two programs in Europe for American journalists.

"Journalists in Europe" provides ninemonth internships for experienced young journalists who will be based in Paris, reporting and writing on the Common Market countries and contributing to a bimonthly magazine. Fluency in French is desirable, but there will be an opportunity before the term begins for intensive language training. Some scholarships are available for the \$7,000 cost of the program, which will run from October 15, 1986, until June, 1987,

The John J. McCloy Fellowships provide four weeks' travel and living expense in West Germany for American journalists wishing to study and write about the country.

Deadlines for both programs are February 15, 1986.

Applications are available from Prof. Donald Shanor, Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027

yesterday's New York Post and World-Telegram late editions and in the Daily News, the Times, and the Herald Tribune, etc., that hit the stands the night before. I still remember the number of friends who made comments about rereading yesterday's news.

PM was a kind of daily magazine, not surprising considering Ingersoll's background in the magazine business. Imaginative, skillful, and innovative - too bad it was always a day behind.

> TOM TORRE BEVANS West Cornwall, Conn.

A second opinion

TO THE REVIEW:

I read with interest your article entitled "Onward - And Upward? - with the Newhouse Boys," CJR, July/August). As president of the State Medical Board of Ohio, I was dismayed by your authors' reference to Gary Webb's April 1985 Plain Dealer series relating to the board and by the suggestion that the series demonstrates improved journalistic quality on the part of the newspaper.

It would appear that neither the authors nor the Review's editors considered the possibility that Mr. Webb's series was itself an inflammatory, sensationalistic effort designed to sell newspapers, rather than an objective and accurate exposé intended to provide honest, responsible service to the public. It is unfortunate that no attempt was made to obtain the medical board's version of the facts before the article was run.

> JOHN E. RAUCH President The State Medical Board Columbus, Ohio

The inflamed tissue issue

TO THE REVIEW:

As a writer who has suffered from both tenosynovitis and carpal tunnel syndrome. I was extremely interested to read "Buggered for Life' - By VDTs" (CJR, July/August). The article may leave the impression that both of these conditions are incurable; in fact, no miracle is necessary to cure either - just a simple surgical release of the inflamed tissue around the tendon sheath.

In April 1983, I underwent surgery for tenosynovitis. It was done in my doctor's office, took about an hour, and left me in a cast for a week. My hand movements were restricted for another three weeks, but the condition never recurred, because the injured tissue was removed. Surgery for carpal tunnel syndrome, which I have not vet had to have, is equally efficient.

I think the Review should let writers know they are not doomed to a life of pain if they develop either of these conditions.

> SUSAN MERNIT Brooklyn, N.Y.

Tony Horwitz and Geraldine Brooks reply: Australian medical opinion is that surgery may be of help in some cases of tenosynovitis and, to a lesser extent, carpal tunnel syndrome, but its use is limited to cases in which the damaged area is very well defined. Usually, however, sufferers of Repetition Strain Injury have more than one musculo-skeletal problem, so doctors here are very reluctant to operate. In the few instances in which they have done so, results have been mixed.

TO THE REVIEW:

To blame the "quick introduction of computers" for the sudden epidemic of Repetition Strain Injury (apparently only among union employees and only in Australia) is just plain silly. Before reporters and editors used VDT keyboards, they typed on IBM Selectrics and before that on manual typewriters. They also clenched pens or pencils. which did, indeed, result in aching hand and wrist muscles. To assert that pushing buttons on a computer keyboard is more stressful than pounding a manual typewriter is ludicrous. (In fact, I'm copying this on a manual from a printout prepared from a VDT and already my fingers and wrists are tired.)

The authors state as fact that the "introduction of electronic keyboards . . . has put white-collar workers at risk" and go on to say that someone who produced fifteen pages on a typewriter now produces twenty-five pages on a computer. Please name a journalist whose typing speed has nearly doubled because of computers and then name an editor who will state that, because of computers, reporters are producing almost twice as many stories and that copy editors are writing twice as many headlines.

As to suggesting that typewriter work was less stressful because a reporter had to feed a sheet of paper every twenty-five lines or make a correction by hand (I seem to remember that we made corrections by backspacing and x-ing out), does not the user of a computer keyboard have to stop every once in a while to locate a cursor key or define a block and move it?

These movements are far from the "home keys." Reporters still lean back in their chairs to contemplate the next paragraph, consult their notes, walk down to the coffee machine, smoke a cigarette, answer the phone, call home, chat with their neighbor, or store their story and call up the sports-

JOURNALISM

RATES



\$14 a year for your own subscription or first gift: \$10 for each additional gift FOR: FROM:

NAME (please print)

NAME (as it will appear on gift card)

ADDRESS

ADDRESS

CITY, STATE, ZIP

CITY, STATE, ZIP

☐ First subscription at \$14 or

☐ Renew mine at \$14

□ Bill me ☐ Payment enclosed \$_

☐ ___additional gift(s) at \$10

Please list additional subscriptions on a separate sheet and enclose with order



人

NO POSTAGE NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

FIRST CLASS

PERMIT NO. 636

MARION, OHIO

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

JOURNALISM REVIEW

> 200 ALTON PLACE MARION, OH 43306

Columbia University announces the 12th year of the

BAGEHOT FELLOWSHIPS IN ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS JOURNALISM



Walter Bagehot, British journalist and economist, 1826–1877

The Bagehot Fellowship Program is an intensive mid-career program of study in New York City designed to help skilled journalists obtain a deeper understanding of economics, business, and finance. The program combines course work at Columbia University with a specifically tailored seminar and dinner program. Guest speakers have included Paul Volcker, Donald Regan, T. Boone Pickens, Felix Rohatyn, Paul Craig Roberts, Robert Reich, and Irving S. Shapiro.

The Bagehot Fellowship Program is open to journalists with at least four years' experience. Fellows receive free tuition and a living expense stipend. Here is what some of the nearly 100 former Bagehot Fellows have to say about their experience:

"The Bagehot Fellowship taught me just what I needed to know about business and economics.

I use my Bagehot training every day."

Eileen White, reporter, The Wall Street Journal

"An intellectually rigorous program.

Both professionally and personally rewarding."

Caroline Donnelly, senior editor, Money Magazine

"The Bagehot Fellowship is terrific. I use what I learn every day."

Jan Hopkins, business correspondent, Cable News Network

Westinghouse Broadcasting and Cable sponsors the Westinghouse Scholarship for a qualified broadcasting applicant. A Time Inc. Scholarship is awarded to a qualified minority applicant. The deadline for the 1986–87 academic year application is April 4. For further information, send in the form below.

To: Mary Bralove, Director Bagehot Fellowship Program Graduate School of Journalism Columbia University New York, New York 10027

Please send me further information and an application form for the Bagehot Fellowship Program for 1986–87.

NAME POSITION

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

BOOKS/PUBLICATIONS

HOW TO WIN ELECTIONS WITHOUT HARDLY CHEATIN' AT ALL, 350-page hardback by Martin Hauan. Author has handled media or been campaign manager in 25 successful statewide campaigns, including 4 races for governor. \$14.95. Midwest Political Publications, P.O. Box 780080, Oklahoma City, OK 73178.

FORMER MAN DIES IN CALIFORNIA — Chains Popular as Wedding Gifts — Food is Basic to Student Diet — Carl Viking Holman, Perennial Loser, Dies — Corection. Treat yourself, or a friend, to Squad Helps Dog Bite Victim: a collection of flubs from the nation's press culled from 19 years of "The Lower case." \$5 per copy. Send order with payment to: SHDBV, Columbia Journalism Review, 700A Journalism Bldg., Columbia University New York, NY 10027.

FOUND: The best magazine in the world for those who love words: VERBATIM, The Language Quarterly. Subscription: \$10/year. Box 668JR, Essex, CT 06426.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

MEDIA COMMUNICATIONS INSTRUCTORS—two full-time instructors for Media Communications Program. Positions become available January, 1986. PhD with strong theoretical and writing experience preferred, to be assigned introductory and elective courses in: Media Communications Theory, Media Communications Law and Ethics, Writing for Media, all Journalism and Reporting courses. Send resume to: Kate R. Landis, Director of Personnel, Medaille College, 18 Agassiz Circle, Buffalo, NY 14214. AA/EOE. No phone calls please.

FELLOWSHIPS

CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM. Application period open for 1986-1987. For information, write: American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

INSTRUCTION

SOCIONOMY says, "Social knowledge is a century behind times." Box 327J, Patton, CA 92369.

RESORTS

SAINT THOMAS, V.I. — WATER ISLAND. Private secluded studio apts. and 3 bedroom house. Limestone Reef Terraces, R.D. 4, Princeton, NJ 08540. Phone: (201) 329-6309 or (800) 872-8784.

SERVICES

ORIENTAL WOMEN SEEK CORRESPOND-ENCE for cultural exchange, language practice, friendship. Asian Exchange, Box 1021CJR, Honokaa, HI 96727.

DATABASE on disks for investigative writers. Micro Associates, Box 5369, Arlington, VA 22205.

MANUSCRIPTS/CASSETTES PROFESSION-ALLY TYPED, EDITED. Scholarship, accuracy stressed. Marye Myers, POB 1019, South Pasadena, CA 91030-1019.

TAKE MY CLIENTS' WORD FOR IT . . . The Best in Top Quality Manuscript Transcription: Tape Only. Skillful, experienced and proven reliability. Highest client references in legal and editorial fields. My own editorial and journalistic background provides sensitivity to writer's intent. Structest confidence assured. \$18 per hour, pickup and delivery provided. TELLTYPE. Phone: (212) 619-3431.

WANTED

MANUSCRIPTS — Completed or nearly completed manuscripts wanted by small, distinguished publisher in social, political, behavioral sciences, humanistic, business, and issues for perceptive trade and acad. audiences (no textbooks). Prior published authors only. Send manuscripts plus bio to: Dr. Joan S. Dunphy, P.O. Box 669, Far Hills, NJ 07931.

FOR EXPOSE OF BOOK PUBLISHING INDUSTRY, need experiences, anecdotes, etc. from authors, agents, publishing employees. Write to: CJR, Box 988.

TO MARKET!

with CJR Classifieds

Trying to buy or sell? Announcing a job opening? Publicizing a seminar? Whatever your need, don't overlook the marketplace of *Columbia Journalism Review* Classifieds. Reach 79,200 potential buyers and sellers for only \$1.50 a word or number. To reach them all in our January/February '86 issue, just return this coupon by December 2nd.

NOTE: There is a 10-word minimum. Zip codes count as one word. PO Box and telephone numbers, each two words. For CJR box service add \$5.00.

ALL ADS MUST BE PREPAID.

NAME	0.84		
ADDRESS			
CITY	STATE	ŽIP	

MAIL TO: CJR Classifieds 700A Journalism Building Columbia University New York, NY 10027 wire queue to check the box scores. And, if they're lucky, the system will crash and they can spend a half-hour doing nothing.

> PETER B. BRIGGS Electronic systems editor The Post West Palm Beach, Fla.

The authors reply: To be honest, we both had the same reaction of noncomprehension when we first heard of the RSI epidemic here. It is a mysterious complaint. However, the reality of the problem here is incontestable and we stand by the accuracy of our research. We might add that two new facts have come to our attention since we wrote the piece. One is that the rigid, static position in which users of light keyboards must hold their hands (rather than resting them on rigid keyboards) probably has as much to do with the problem as the number of repetitive movements. The other is that the IBM Selectric keyboard, for reasons which aren't yet fully understood, appears to contribute to fewer cases of RSI than any other electric or electronic keyboard in use in Australia.

No pushover

TO THE REVIEW:

In "Pushing New Drugs — Can The Press Kick The Habit?" (CJR, July/August), Jim Sibbison describes how much of the press waxed enthusiastic in 1982 and 1983 about the drug chymopapain as a wonderful way to treat herniated discs without the pain of surgery. He goes on to note that in June 1984 "the manufacturers acknowledged to the media that chymopapain had been associated with five deaths and twenty-eight cases of paralysis and other neurological disorders."

In fact, the manufacturers, both of them suburban Chicago companies, acknowledged their difficulties only after I broke a story in the Chicago Tribune saying that the Food and Drug Administration was investigating the drug and had forced both firms to send out "Dear Doctor" letters warning physicians of side effects.

MICHAEL L. MILLENSON Financial news Chicago Tribune Chicago, III.

Deadline

The editors welcome letters from readers. To be considered for publication in the January/ February 1986 issue, letters should be received by November 20. Letters are subject to editing for clarity and space.

An Advertisement to Edition, News Directors, and Reporters

For the Skinny on Equal Access Long Distance

The telephone divestiture

ment covering Equal Acres

Distance means a whole new
er of rories on long distance service.

When Equal Acress takes effect in your
area, a toll-free call to 800-826-4450 can give you quick,
clear and complete answers to any number of questions
your news stories will need to handle.

What telephone systems will be affected in your area? When? Will they have 1-plus dialing convenience? What about rotary phones? Cost? Billing? Extra charges? Sound quality? Service? 24 hours? For business only? How soon will it start in this town or that? What's liable to happen next and how long will all this keep going on?

The answers to questions like these are available at 800-826-4450. GTE Sprint is providing this service in the public interest, our own interest, and the interest of all long distance customers.

Phone 800-826-4450
The Information Number for Equal Access Long Distance

GIE SPRINT



GIVE HER A FIRE SO RARE IT WILL BURN FOREVER.

Every quality diamond of a carat or more is one of nature's rarest and most exquisite phenomena. Each is a visible reflection of you. Unique in all the world, possessing four vital qualities that set it apart forever. They are called the 4C's: Cut,

Color, Clarity and Carat-weight. It is the **46** characteristics that determine the value of a diamond—and to an astonishing degree the beauty and value of your jewelry—no matter what the design.

Your jeweler is the expert where diamonds are concerned. His knowledge can help make the acquisition of a quality diamond of a carat or more the beautiful, rewarding experience it should be.

Give her a quality diamond of a carat or more. A truly rare and beautiful gift. Like the woman you love.

A diamond is forever.

The ring shown features a quality diamond of 5 carats.



A QUALITY DIAMOND OF A CARAT OR MORE. A FIRE RARELY SEEN.

The Lower case

A backlash against gays as parents

The Philadelphia Inquirer 7/21/85



Ancestors of apes, humans may have originated in Asia

American cleric freed but Reagan anxious for rest

Victoria, B.C., Times Colonist 9/19/85

Client killed wrong constable, lawver tells court

Hamilton, Ont., Spectator 9/17/85

Correctio

The story on Sun City businesswoman Karen Lapp which appeared in Monday's News-Sun had some minor factual errors. Draper's & Damon's home office is in Costa Mesa, Calif., not Pasadena. Her husband Richard published but didn't write the book, God's Care for Widows and not God's Careful Widows. Also the Lapp's Tuesday night Bible study is held at a Sun City business and not at their Country Meadows home and his parents live in Glendale, not Sun The Arizona Republic 8/12/85 Woman inherits antique lust from mother-in-law she never met

Literarcy week observed

Man Is Seized in Burglaries By Use of a Pool Skimmer

Life means caring for hospital director

Dismemberment killer convicted

Brockton, Mass., Enterprise 8/9/85

Thank God the jury could put the pieces together.

Peace Boat Stories Don't Jive

Concord, N.H., Monitor 8/10/85

Doctor says Hudson in good spirits, doctor says

Oakland, Calif., Tribune 7/31/85

CJR asks readers who contribute items to this department to send only original clippings suitable for reproduction; please include the name and date of publication, as well as your name and address. ELEVATE YOUR SENSES

REMY MARTIN NE CHAMPAGNE COOKS NAPOLEON

The Napoleon of Rémy Martin.

This extraordinary cognac is matured to an elegant depth in bouquet and a subtle complexity in flavor, earning it the official cognac appellation: Napoleon. Cognac connoisseurs will find it a rare and superior achievement.

THE NAPOLEON OF REMY MARTIN

BOUT \$40 THE BOTTLE

